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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. IX.



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COLLECTIONS

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THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FIRST CHURCHES IN MASSACHUSETTS. ACCOUNT OF MINISTERS WHO WERE FIXED IN SALEM, CHARLESTOWN, DORCHESTER, AND BOSTON, WATERTOWN, AND ROXBURY. CONTROVERSY WITH ROGER WILLIAMS, AND MRS. HUTCHINSON. SYNOD IN 1637; AND STATE OF RELIGION TO THE YEAR 1647.

THE wisest statesmen have observed, that a regular ministry is the great instrument of civilizing mankind. It is evident, that their business is connected with a virtuous education, and the encouragement of polite literature; and it is a fact, that the most social order prevails, and most knowledge is diffused in those towns and states, where the people have regarded the institutions of religion, and chosen men of liberal education for their teachers. The fathers of New-England, who subdued the wilderness, and turned its roughest spots into fruitful fields, had been well educated in the old country; and were disposed to encourage a learned ministry. They frequently observed that a country destitute of ministers, was like paradise without the tree of life. But they extended their views beyond this sublunary state, and planted churches not so much for social improvements, and to bless the present scene of existence, as to brighten the prospects of future glory.

When Mr. Endicot came over to Salem, the people were few in number. After the second embarkation they amounted to three hundred. Among them were four clergymen; Mr. Ralph Smith who went to Plymouth; Mr. Bright who went to Charlestown, and soon after to England. He lost the esteem of the brethren, though a very pious man, because he could not proceed to the same extreme of non-conformity to the Church of England.* Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton remained at Naumkeage. They called it Salem, which some opposed, thinking there was a puritanick cant in the appellation, but the majority prevailed, and it has preserved the name even to the present times. These gentlemen had the satisfaction of seeing a church formed according to their wishes; their wisdom and worth were respected by that generation, and their characters have lately been delineated to the honour of the first settlers of Massachusetts.†

Mr. Higginson had been a minister of Leicester, but silenced for non-conformity. Upon an address to him from Mr. Humphries, afterwards a magistrate of the colony, and also from Mr. White of Dorchester, he agreed to leave his native land, and here make his abode.

Mr. Skelton was another non-conformist minister, who had been settled in Lincolnshire. His sentiments and manner of life were adapted to the state of this people; and he was ordained pastor of the church in Salem at the same time Mr. Higginson was introduced as their teacher. One of the brethren, Mr. Houghton, was also elected to the office of elder, which office is now hardly known in the New-England states.‡

The

* Our early historians thus describe him in their quaint manner:—“Thus he began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build, but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building as he supposed, he, not unlike *Jonah*, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to *Tarshish*. Hubbard’s MSS.

The like character is applied to *Mr. Blackstone*, but it is less descriptive than his manner of designating the *Lord brethren* who complained of the *Lord Bishops*.

† Hist. Collect. vol. 6. History of Salem.

‡ Mr. Bentley, in his history of Salem, says:—“In the choice of an elder to rule in the church, care was taken not to accept of a civil officer.”

The first planters who arrived with Endicot held some communication with their brethren at Plymouth, and expressed their opinion fully, that—the church in Plymouth should not claim any jurisdiction over the church in Salem.

And that the authority of ordination should not exist in the clergy, but should depend upon the free election of members of the church, and that there should be a representation of this power preserved continually.||

Mr. Fuller, a deacon of the church of Plymouth, as a physician, went to Salem, whilst a malignant disease was prevalent there, and was not only active in the line of his profession, but had some influence upon their religious opinions. Mr. Endicot was so well pleased with him, that he wrote a letter of thanks to Governor Bradford for sending him to their assistance, and also declared his approbation of the order and discipline of the Plymouth church.

On the 6th day of August, A. D. 1629, a covenant was drawn by Mr. Higginson, and on that day, in the presence of the Plymouth delegates, who arrived during the solemnities, they set apart their officers, and admitted thirty members to the church. None were admitted but such as gave a good account of their life and conversation, or offered a relation of the work of the Spirit, the divine influence upon the heart. This was sometimes written, and sometimes only a verbal declaration.

The inhabitants soon experienced the want of unanimity in their religious fellowship. An opposition of some consequence arose from several persons of influence, who had been active in promoting the settlement of the place. At the head of this were Mr. Samuel Brown, and Mr. John Brown, the one a lawyer, the other a merchant, who were attached to the form and usage of the Church of England. The ministers, assisted by Mr. Endicot, endeavoured

officer.”—The remark is just; our fathers considered the church and state as entirely separate. Mr. Nowel, the ruling elder of the church in Boston, was obliged to leave this office in 1632. The church at Plymouth had great influence over the people in Massachusetts, and it was their opinion, that a “ruler in the church ought not to be a ruler in the state at the same time.” Mr. Nowel was satisfied, and gave his attention to the affairs of the Commonwealth, or to this civil rule, for which his talents were well adapted.

|| Vid. 1st. vol. Hist. Coll.

oured to bring them over to the practice of the Puritans, but without success. Such contentions sprang from their difference of opinion, as made a separation necessary. The writers on one side say, that the ministers made use of modest and reasonable arguments to convince them, before they were sent away. Whether Mr. Brown and his adherents, who were prejudiced on a different side of the question, thought them reasonable and modest, may admit more than a doubt. In religious controversies we seldom find one party more candid than the other.

The business is thus represented by the advocates of the Church of England. These gentlemen, with others, were conscientious churchmen, and desired to use the Liturgy; and for this purpose met at their own houses. The magistrates, or rather Mr. Endicot, sent to demand a reason for their separation; they answered, that, as they were of the church established by law in their native country, it was highly proper they should worship God as the government required, from whom they had received their charter. Surely they might be allowed that *liberty of conscience*, which all conceived so reasonable when they were on the other side the water. But these arguments were called seditious and mutinous by the first settlers in general, who were determined none should participate the blessings of this promised land, but *saints* of levelling principles and puritanick feelings. A late episcopal writer expresses himself after this manner: "The holy brethren drove away the two Mr. Browns because they would not join with them in their prejudices against the crowned Church of England."§

This same writer, who is rather a polemick divine, than a candid historian, declares, "that Mr. Blackstone was driven from Boston, because he was a parson of the Episcopal Church."

The compilers of the modern parts of the Universal History have uttered similar complaints in *those few pages*, of their voluminous work, which they allow for *New-England*; but some farther evidence is wanted to confirm their account, as they do not support their reflections by any testimony of persons who could be acquainted with the business. Endicot's party were wrong, because they

used

used violent measures ; but how frequently did persons leave the country, and complain of being driven from the plantation, when their object was to show resentment against individuals, and gain an importance of character ? It is no wonder that Episcopalians have strong prejudices against the character of the first planters of Massachusetts ; but we must also consider and allow for these prejudices, when they commit their opinions to writing. It is certain, that whenever old controversies have been revived, they have used a style and language which they censure in their opponents as bordering on vulgarity.

Mr. Bentley imputes the errors of the ministers to the temper of *Endicot*, who was determined to execute his plan of church government. Unexperienced in the passions of men, and unaccustomed to consult even his friends, he was resolved to suffer no opposition ; and as the Salem church had disclaimed the authority of the Church of England, his feelings were hurt, and temper raised against those who preferred a Liturgy, and whose object might be, as he conceived, to cause a schism in the community.

I am led to speak of another attempt to introduce the worship of the Church of England, where something more was intended than a bare toleration ; but which did not succeed, on account of a very different cause. Mr. Weston sent over a number of this persuasion to Wassaugussett, but they were men whose religious zeal was not the most remarkable trait in their character, though he himself was a man of piety, liberal in his views, and friendly to the settlement at New-Plymouth. Had they followed the advice which the men of Plymouth, those men, tried in the school of adversity, gave them, they would have ensured to themselves a safe habitation, with flattering prospects of a growing and a flourishing plantation. But thinking only of trade, and little scrupulous of making unjust bargains with the Indians, when an immediate gain was in view, they opposed their true interest, and suffered the consequences of their folly, in a dispute with the natives, which would have issued in their sudden destruction, had they received no assistance from their friends at Plymouth. Soon after which, they were obliged to leave the settlement.

The plan was again brought forward, through the influence

ence of F. Gorges ; and a more serious effort made to persuade the first settlers to join the Episcopal Church. A clergyman of very respectable abilities and character was sent over, named Morel, who had an ecclesiastical commission, which, in a more flourishing plantation, would have clothed him with some authority. He is called a bishop, *not* in the most respectful manner, by certain writers who compiled the materials of our early history. From every account of him he was a man of prudence ; and he has left a specimen of his classical taste and erudition, which will long be preserved among other curious documents which describe the state and the prospect of *New-England*. Had this gentleman been stimulated by religious zeal ; had he been more remarkable for bigotry than for his learning and candour, like some who are to be found among every denomination of christians, he would have excited contention, and given trouble to the other settlements ; but instead of blowing the coals, he was disposed to extinguish the fire that had been kindled, and which a small matter would have spread ; for the inhabitants of New-Plymouth would never have submitted to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Having suffered so much in the old country, how could they have yielded to the same authority in this ? But no difficulty of the kind ensued ; Mr. Morel lived some time among them, after leaving Wassaugussett ; and only mentioned his commission when he could make no use of it.*

From this time the worship of the Supreme Being was after the manner of the Congregational churches ; nor did any assembly of Episcopalians meet in New-England till the reign of Charles the second. Between the settlement of Massachusetts, and the building of the first Episcopal Church in Boston, many years intervene ; and years made famous by events and revolutions of Europe, as well as

* Morel's poem upon the state of New-England, is an excellent poem. The translation is not of equal elegance. A judicious writer observes, that it was composed before Waller and Dryden had tuned the English tongue. The same writer allows Morel to be a man of genius and elegant taste, or that his Latin is both "elegant and descriptive." Will not every person, who is without the prejudices of Dr. Cotton Mather, give his tribute of respect to the memory of a man who exhibited so much literature and virtue ?—and who took so much pains to collect facts, and accurately describe the face of the country ?

as the progress of society in this new and extensive region. When king Charles was dethroned, and all the power of the state fell into the hands of Presbyterians, or Independents, no encouragement was given to the Church of England. Even her lovers and friends, boiling with political rage in the phrensy of the times, dealt deceitfully with her. Cromwell was an artful hypocrite ; he might have been sincerely religious once ; but it is not to be supposed that a man of his temper and conduct was influenced by religious opinions, or that he run into all the wild fanaticism of those times. The solemn carriage of weaker men was sincere ; but his ridiculous affectation of piety was for political purposes ; and he succeeded by such artifices beyond his own, and beyond all human expectations. He was an enemy to the hierarchy, to the Presbyterians, and all the various sects, according to the power they possessed of thwarting his views ; or their indisposition to his usurped authority. When the Presbyterian ministers thought him their friend, he at the very time encouraged the Independents in all their eagerness to pull down government in church, as well as the state. Afterwards, when his schemes were carried into execution, and he could make no further gain of his godliness, he exposed, to the scorn and ribaldry of his acquaintance, the levelling principles of the nation ; and the fanatical conduct of those, who had contributed to the glory of his own character, and raised him to his exalted station.

There have been many publications to show the "world's mistake in Oliver Cromwell." Some wise and good men never gave up the opinion they held of the sincerity of his disposition, his patriotick zeal, or the sanctity of his life. Others have admitted his political errors, and called him a despot ; but have thought favourably of his religious character ; that he was sound in the faith, and a great defender of the evangelical doctrines taught in the school of Geneva ; yet John Goodwin, the Arminian zealot, was his particular friend. Another of his chaplains defended and propagated the doctrine of *Universal Salvation*. Thomas Goodwin was his spiritual monitor, who was a zealous Calvinist ; and he makes him die a christian.*

* John Goodwin, author of the celebrated tract against the Episcopal Church,

Mr. Howe, a man nearly connected with the fathers of New-England, and whose abilities were uncommonly fine, fell under the displeasure of the Protector, because he wrote against the doctrine of a *particular faith*. When Dr. Increase Mather was in England, this most excellent man

Church, styled, *Lord Bishops not the Lord's Bishops*, 1640; which is a direct attack on the archbishop of Canterbury, with these lines, as void of poetry, as of candour,

“Prælati, Pilati;

“Non pastores, sed impostores.”

Such a motto will supply an opinion of Goodwin, as well as reading the whole book. He was one of the rudest writers of that very rude age. This book was succeeded by another more celebrated, *A Defence of the honourable sentence passed upon the king by the high Court of Justice*, 1649. Opposed chiefly to the *Humble Address of Dr. Hammond*; and to the *Serious and faithful representation of some of the ministers of London*, with a motto—

Fiat justitia, ruat cælum

Ad generum cereris, sine cæde & sanguine, pauci

Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte Tyranni—

And the 55th Psalm, 23d.

Both these books were presented, or dedicated to the Commons of England.

It was a wonder that he was not excepted from the Act of Indemnity as well as Hugh Peters. His conduct towards the king was not so indecent, but his writings, far superior in strength of argument, and consistency of manner, had a much greater effect in confirming the prejudices of the people against the king and his family. For some reason, neither Milton nor Goodwin was excepted, though it would have gratified many friends of the court, had they suffered, and been brought to ignominy and death.

Mr. Goodwin is among the ejected ministers in Dr. Calamy's list, who says, “He was a man by himself; was against every man, and had almost every man's hand against him. He was warm and eager, whatever he engaged in. He had a clear head, a fluent tongue, a penetrating spirit, and a marvellous faculty in descanting on scripture; and with all his faults must be owned to be a very considerable man by those who will take pains to peruse his writings.” In the Doctor's list are only his theological works; but, he adds,—“Other controversial tracts and pamphlets on matters disputed in those days.” The republicans preserved them, but they are very rare. In one there is a remark by the late T. H. of London, which the writer of this note has in his possession. “A curious tract”—the *print of the author* should be before it.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin, a pious man, less independent of spirit, was duped by Cromwell; he is called by Ludlow, and, after him, by Skinner, *Author of ecclesiastical history of Scotland, Cromwell's trencher chaplain*. He believed in the doctrine of a particular faith, and used this expression

man told him, "that if any person was truly religious, it was Oliver Cromwell." Most of his domestick chaplains thought so; for he chose them from that class of men who are wrapped up in spiritual contemplations, and know little of the world. Such pious ministers judged from his great professions of religion, from his attending so many sermons, hearing and making prayers so often and so long, that he was devout; and if this were the test of his sincerity, Cromwell was certainly a faint. The great Dr. Owen

in his prayer during Cromwell's last sickness. "Lord, we beg *not* for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." He lived during the reign of Charles the second, was among the ejected ministers by the Bartholomew acts, which was the only difficulty he met with. When he died, his posthumous works were published in five folio volumes, and *more remaining*. They have not been much read in New-England. A late fashionable writer says, "If angels wrote books, they never would write folios."

Mr. Howe was the friend and favourite of the ministers in New-England. The Protector dismissed him his service; and he was among the ejected ministers after the *Uniformity Act*. Even Mr. Wood, the Oxonian, who very rarely has a good word for any dissenter, in his last edition of *Athena Oxoniensis*, says of him, "He was a person of neat and polite parts, and not of this sour, unpleasant converse, as most of his persuasion."

Particular faith, as Thomas Goodwin held, and as Mr. Howe denied, was different from what the first reformers believed. *Calvin* faith, Faith is a knowledge of God's kindness to us, and an assured persuasion of the truth thereof. *Hildersham* describes the faith of *God's elect*, which enables every man that believes to apply Christ to himself, and to rely upon him, and trust in him for his own salvation. And it is to be found in the books of the fathers of Massachusetts, "that faith is not performed by any affection of the will, but by the certain and particular persuasion, whereby the man is resolved that the promises of salvation belong to him, which persuasion is wrought in the mind by the Holy Ghost."

But the faith of Cromwell was more particular than all this. He would not only be persuaded that he was a child of God, but that God answered him in prayer; so that he knew when his desires would be gratified. He consulted the Deity in every important transaction of his life, and received a particular intimation what should take place. Dr. Cotton Mather was of the same opinion once; he lived to see how uncertain such a faith is; for having written in his Diary that certain matters were to take place; having kept days of fasting that he might not be deceived, yet nothing of the kind happened. It was enough to convince him how much better it is to keep the judgment in exercise, than to follow the delusions of fancy.

Owen was not so easily wrought upon ; he beheld him in various attitudes, and by surveying the lineaments of his political character, as these were displayed in the scenes of his publick conduct, judged more correctly, and united with those who said, *let no such man be trusted*. He saw through the deceitful manner of his refusing the crown, and discovered equal virtue and wisdom by advising him never to accept it.* The Protector corresponded with Mr. Cotton, and flattered him ; by his letters he seems to possess a most pure and spiritual mind : hence the clergy of New-England were among his friends. Most of them looked up to this worldly politician as to a *star* of the churches, or a constellation of the new heavens ; but afterwards their good opinion was somewhat shaken when he made a proposition to settle Jamaica from this new earth. He would have persuaded them to leave this virgin soil which they had embraced as their home, and to which they were peculiarly attached, from many circumstances attending their arrival here, as well as the prevailing sentiment, that it was to be Immanuel's land.†

The fathers of Massachusetts, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and others, who came over in the *Arabella*, will not be denominated very rigid puritans by those who read their address upon leaving their native country. In this, they show their affection and esteem for the Church of England. We must suppose they were upright ; and that they did not contemplate making such a separation, as took place when they reached these shores, and joined their brethren who had been laying out the settlement. The words of their letter evidently mark their resolution never more to be under the galling yoke of Episcopacy ; still they had a great respect for the doctrines of the church, nor did they make particular exceptions to their manner of worship. A like observation may extend to the puritans of queen Elizabeth's reign. They did not join with the Separatists, but disowned many of their writings, especially where they call the Church of England, Antichrist, a name fixed on the Church of Rome. Such opinions were publicly condemned by the learned conformists of that age, and as much disclaimed by

* Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

† Vid. O. Cromwell's letter to J. Cotton.

by those who sought a reformation and could not conform to the rites and ceremonies. Of the various dissenters from the church, during times which agitated the minds, and interested the passions of people, (in general) we may well think *some* would be more extravagant in their conduct than others. They may be divided into two sorts; the one endeavoured to get rid of the corruptions which had crept into the Church either before, or after its reformed state; the other, not content herewith, maintained with the greatest obstinacy the necessity of abrogating and disannulling their former Church, and creating all anew. "Those who insisted upon further reformation (says the celebrated Daniel Defoe) were called puritans, because they set up for greater purity. They did not separate from the establishment till the time of Charles. They always declined the ceremonies, but did not break from the church in communion." If this author speaks justly, the early puritans were very different from the Brownists,* nor did they understand the principles of the Congregational

* The *Brownists*, according to Mr. Neal, rose as a sect, 1580. In 1582, Robert Brown published his book, *The life and manners of true christians*. According to the *Brownists*, every church is a *body corporate*, having full power within itself to exclude members, to choose and ordain officers; and when the good of the society requires it, to depose them, without being accountable to classes, convocations, synods, councils, or any jurisdiction whatever.

The sect have an earlier origin, according to a fragment picked up by Dyer in his life of *Robinson*.

"G. Gifford, minister of God's word at Malden, who published his plain declaration, *that our bishops be full Donatists*, hath these words: Now there is a sect in England, called *Brownists*, because Brown, as they say, was the originator of them. But for all this, he hath written or published in maintenance and enlargement thereof, and more skill and learning than either have followed or gone before him. Many men think they have sprung up of late; but whereas indeed it is well known that there was a church of them in London twenty years past, and one Botten was a principal doer therein, whose fearful end is not forgotten. John Smyth said in 1609, Popery had the proscription against Calvin of 1000 years, but Calvin had not 100 years against the Separation; nay, I suppose not above 50 years."

From this we see the Brownists did not know the date of their own *rise*, and according to the date in Gifford they were a church in 1570. Their obscurity might have protected them till Robert Brown, a man more noisy, wild, and fanatical, brought them into publicity, and exposed them to persecution and banishment.

tional churches, as they have since propagated, defended and confirmed in various parts of Great Britain as well as New-England.

Our fathers were the offspring of the old non-conformists, such as did *not* deny the Church of England to be the true church ; but that they retained the essentials of faith and order ; yet they could not content themselves to live under the wing of the Episcopal government. When they came to America they only complained of the ceremonies ; but very soon after they cherished prejudices against the discipline and government thereof ; and attempted to form churches according to their ideas of the primitive method, or the pattern described in the word of God, and practised by the apostles, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, mentioned in the sacred history. Their intentions were good, though they might be mistaken in some points. “ We of the congregation kept a fast,* (says Governor Winthrop,) and chose Mr. Wilson teacher, Mr. Nowel elder, Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England.” Mr. Neal of London, who is another of our historians, says, that Mr. White preached the sermon at Mr. Wilson’s ordination ; that Mr. Wilson was then chosen pastor, who, though ordained minister of the Church of England, submitted to a *re-ordination* by the imposition of hands, such as the church invited to pray for a blessing on his labours.

There is some difference of opinion ; but undoubtedly Mr. Neal is mistaken, whose information, many years after this period, could not be so correct as Mr. Winthrop’s, an eye-witness to the scene, and who hearing the teachers make the declaration, wrote the account of it at the very time it took place.†

They

* August 27, 1630.

† This is undoubtedly a mistake of Neal. Who was the Mr. White that preached ? They had no sermon preached upon such occasions. Afterwards when this part of the service was introduced, we find that the minister preached his own ordination sermon. Mr. Higginson did this in Salem, 1660. But many after this were separated to the work of

They who have looked into the early state of the New-England churches, will find alterations made very frequently in their manner and forms, although they adhered strictly to the same general principles. It was a different church model when Mr. Wilson settled, from that which was adopted when Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker came over ; each of them loved the truth, and liked to have the pre-eminence. By some kind of covenant they had moulded themselves into a church, wherever they made a plantation ; but we must give much credit to their performances. They wrote like men of thought and learning upon most theological subjects ; cleared up the order of church government so as to please the majority of the planters ; and most of their rules were adopted into the advice of the synods, which they gave upon several important occasions to the people of New-England.

Mr. Higginson differed from the church of Plymouth in some particulars. He was advised by certain persons in England, as Hubbard relates, to agree upon their form of ecclesiastical discipline and government, before the people left the old country ; and had this advice been regarded, many inconveniences would have been prevented, to which they were subject by the neglect. At least, they would have

of the ministry without preaching, and the sermon was said to be an innovation upon the practice of the first settlers. Dr. Colman preached at Mr. Fisk's ordination in Salem, 1718 ; he was a minister of a church in Boston formed in opposition to the platform. It was a proper Congregational church according to the model of the churches in the old country ; the form of worship, the discipline, and the method of choosing their pastor differed very much from the practice of our ancestors. In a MS. *penesme*, the opinion of a literary friend is thus expressed :

“ Let us inquire where the primitive planters could get this practice ? The puritans had no such practice in the times of *Charles* the first ; the canons of the Church of England, 1603, require no preaching ; there is nothing mentioned of it in the Scotch form, 1645 ; the *Brownists* assigned the ordination to the elders and people, without any appearance of the sacerdotal functions : our fathers had no connection with them, did not consult them, nor asked their opinion as witnesses. It was as much designed to separate the services as it was at funerals and marriages, private baptisms, or any special exercises of religion. But as ordination sermons did obtain, it is proper to fix their origin ; I have attributed them to the innovating genius of the great Cotton, sovereign in his dogmas, and absolute in power. Cotton's lectures attached themselves to every thing.”

have saved the succeeding ministers the imputation of departing from their first principles. But they had not yet waded so far into the controversy of the discipline of the churches, as to be very positive upon those points, on which the main hinge turned upon themselves, and others; yet aiming to come as near as possible to the apostolick method, and apprehending that they who joined together in sacred fellowship were followers of their example, they agreed upon a form which should express their covenant relation; and also a method of ordaining ministers, placing them in the office to which they were designated by the voice of the people.

Certain English historians, and indeed most writers upon our ecclesiastical affairs abroad, except Mr. Neal, say that the New-England dissenters took their plan of church government from Geneva; but in this they are mistaken, as they will find, if they only attend to what is written in the books of our fathers, or the correspondence by letters between some ministers of Boston, and their literary correspondents of the parent country. Independents, Presbyterians, and other denominations, are not to be confounded. Our fathers were so far independent that they had no canons nor constitutions for the whole; but they had a connection with each other for the sake of strengthening and consoling by mutual advice and counsel. They had not Calvin's model of ecclesiastical discipline, nor did they refer to it, in the *declarations* of our early *synods*. The first assembly which bore this name of synod was in 1637. It was called to oppose the enthusiastick spirit which then raged, which banished all moral principles from their religion, and obscured the sacred light of christianity as much as the thickest darkness of superstition in the catholick countries of Europe. Their proper scheme of church government was not digested, recommended, nor received, till the year 1648.

These were therefore the several changes in the Congregational churches of New-England.

The church of Salem and Plymouth coalesced, but some difference remained.

The churches of Massachusetts followed Mr. Higginson's method,

method, with sentiments more liberal towards Episcopacy, till Cotton and Hooker arrived.

The Congregational platform is said to be a middle way between Presbyterianism and Brownists.

The latter takes all power from the eldership. The people, in this case, says Mr. Hubbard, "hold the bridle, and then are content that the elders should sit on the saddle."

On the other hand, the Presbyterians vest all power in the hands of the presbytery; thus swallowing up the interest of the people, in every single congregation, in the major part of the classes, or combination.

The Massachusetts churches kept between these extremes; and placed the church power, in a due proportion of authority, in divers hands, according to the concern which each one has from his authority in the church. No trust is committed to one man, however able, nor to any body of men or officers, although diversified into many subordinations under one another. This middle way, delineated chiefly by Mr. Cotton, is that wherein the churches have walked.*

The principal things, in which they differ from other churches, are these:

First. "The subject matter of the invisible church,"

"Saints by calling," i. e. such as have attained to the knowledge of the principles of religion, and are free from gross vices; and are willing to walk together with a confession of their faith and repentance, declaring their subjection to Christ in his ordinances.

2dly. "The constitution and form of the visible church:" which they account to be a re-stipulation, or mutual covenanting to walk together, in their christian communion, according to the rules of the gospel. This had better be explicit, they say, though they do not deny that an implicit covenant may suffice to the being of a true church.

3dly. The "quantity and extensiveness of a particular church." Concerning which, they hold that no church, or society of people, ought to be of greater number, or larger extent, than may ordinarily meet together in one place,

* Hubbard, Mather, Wife, &c.

place, for the enjoyment of the same numerical ordinances and celebrating all divine worship ; nor fewer, than can carry on, conveniently, the business that comes before them.

4thly. The “ denial of any particular jurisdiction to which churches are, or ought to be subject.” i. e. By way of authoritative censure, placed in classes or synods ; or any church power extrinsecal to the churches where each society meet.

After this manner the ecclesiastical affairs of Massachusetts from the year 1633.

In 1647, a synod was called, and the platform or discipline was fixed by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled at Cambridge.*

Towards

* The discipline and mode of the New-England churches gave much offence to *their brethren* in England. The Congregational churches there had more liberal ideas, and were surprised that such as left them to come over to America should leave their practice, and approach so near to those of the Separation, as they called the Brownists, or the churches of Mr. Robinson, Ainsworth, &c.

A treatise was written upon this subject by Mr. Bernard, minister of Batcombe, *addressed to his much esteemed and reverend brethren, the pastors and teachers, and his beloved the christian believers as well without as within the congregations of Christ Jesus in New-England.* The object of this is to censure the conduct of the churches in this country, because they required persons to join in a particular covenant and to declare the foundation of their hopes before they could be admitted to church privileges. Whether this book was ever printed or not, I cannot learn. In the same MSS. there is a LETTER addressed to an eminent *divine of New-England*, written soon after the settlement of Massachusetts, which also censures the conduct of the first planters for their contracted notions concerning baptism, and the admission of christians to their communion : this could not be done, *except a written testimony was brought of their belonging to a particular church.* Some person has marked, by his own handwriting, that he was credibly informed that this *letter was written by Mr. Cotton.* This can hardly be. It is more probable that it was written by Richard Bernard ; it was certainly written by a Congregational minister who was intimately acquainted with those gentlemen who came over in the Arabella.

An extract is as follows. “ It has not a little troubled me that you have denied the Lord’s supper to such faithful and godly servants of Christ, as Mr. Governour, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Coddington, whereof the three latter were known to you to be men of upright heart and unblameable life, and the first might have been evidenced to you to be no less by their approved testimony. My grief increased upon me
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Towards the close of the century, an innovation was made upon the order of the churches as settled by the fathers of Massachusetts. The church in Brattle-street, Boston, was erected, different in its constitution and mode of worship, a more particular account of which will occur in the pages of this narrative.

In

when I heard you denied baptism unto Mr. Coddington's child, and that upon a reason worse than the fact, because he was not a member of any particular reformed church, though of the Catholick. And that which added more to my grief was, that you admitted one of Mr. Lathrop's congregation not only to the Lord's supper, but his child to baptism upon sight of his testimony from his church, whereas Mr. Coddington bringing the same from the chief of our congregation, was not accepted.

"The love I bear towards you with the desire of peace and truth may dwell among you have constrained me to bear witness against your judgment and practice in a word or two.

"First, that you think no man may be admitted to the sacrament, though a member of the Catholick church, unless he be a member of some particular reformed church.

"Secondly, that none of the congregations in England are particular reformed churches, except Mr. Lathrop's, and such as his. For the first, we do not find, neither is it credible, that the eunuch, Acts 8, was a member of any particular congregation, yet Philip baptized him," &c.

After other examples and similar observations, he says, "Your other errors would require a book to answer it, rather than a letter. You went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid that your change sprung from *New-Plymouth* men, whom though I much esteem as good loving christians, yet their grounds which they receive for this tenet from Mr. Robinson, do not satisfy me. The man I reverence as godly and learned.

"The grounds of his dis-churching all our congregations are three.

"First, he says, we want the matter of a visible church, which are saints by calling. But, I inquire, where had he, or all they that deny the right hand of fellowship to us, their calling, but in our English congregations. Say not all the godly that are begotten here are begotten of adultery, for God is not wont to bless the bed of adultery with a greater increase than the bed of wives.

"The second ground is taken from our want of the essential form of a true church, which, as he conceiveth, is a right constitution by mutual covenant between the pastor and people, &c. &c. &c.

"The third is taken from the state of our church government, which he reporteth to put a heavy yoke on God's people. What is amiss in any of them or their ways, I will not take upon me to justify, but to omit other questions too large to be put upon this paper, and to join issue with him upon his own principles. It is not a false nor tyrannical

In the progress of our ecclesiastical history, it is proper to mention the settlement of Dorchester, which was next to Boston ; which always has been a flourishing place, and supported the character of a people remarkable for their attention to religious duties. The Indian name was Matapen. The first settlers were Ludlow, Rosseiter, Glover, Clap, &c. who formed a church and invited Mr. John Wareham and Mr. John Maverick to be their ministers, and called the town, *Dorchester*, in honour of Mr. White, heretofore mentioned as minister of Dorchester in England. The worthy gentlemen who took charge of the church in this place did not long continue among them. Mr. Maverick died a short time after, being nearly sixty years of age ; and Mr. Wareham removed to a settlement, on the east bank of Connecticut river, which had the name of East-Windsor given to it.*

“ Mr. Maverick was a man of a very humble spirit, and faithful in furthering the work of the Lord both in the churches and their civil state.” [*Winthrop.*]

Dorchester was the *first* settled church and town in Massachusetts, according to Mr. Prince ; and we are told, that on all public occasions, the inhabitants of this town took the precedence of other towns. It seems, that the fathers of this place arrived rather earlier than the company in the Arabella, who joined Mr. Grove's settlement at Mishawum, or Charlestown-neck.

During the summer of the year 1630, the ministers preached to the several congregations at Charlestown, Dorchester, and Watertown. For, in addition to Mr. Wilson at Charlestown, and the pastors of the Dorchester church, there

one (as he calleth it) of the prelates of the church that can disannul the being of a church,” &c.

The conclusion is in these expressions : “ I say no more. Reject not the womb that bare you, nor the paps that gave you suck ; till Christ give us a bill of divorcement, do not you divorce yourselves from us. The Lord Jesus Christ show you as much mercy as he hath done to us, and still doth, and so may he do for you, and more and more forever.

“ Have pity also upon those poor creatures that die amongst you, and, as it is said, some for lack of necessaries. Call upon the richer sort for a compassionate heart and hand. We do the like here for yours and ours, as we may.”

* Vid. M'Clure's Account of East-Windsor, Hist. Collections, vol. 5.

there was Mr. George Phillips, whose voice also cried in the wilderness ; who, with Sir R. Saltonstall and others, laid the foundation of Watertown, a village which soon became respectable among the plantations of Massachusetts, and continues to flourish unto the present times.

The church of Charlestown divided the latter part of this year, and a part settled Shawmut. Particularly Mr. Isaac Johnson, who built a house on a spot which is now considered as a most eligible situation, and then was called Tremontane, from three hills approximating each other. It retains the name of Tremont-street, and is an elevation which commands very beautiful surrounding prospects. Mr. Johnson was the husband of the lady Arabella, who died at Salem, and was doubtless one of the most amiable of women. He was a very popular character, of a generous, noble spirit, much interested in the settlement of the country, and, on his death-bed, rejoiced that his eyes had seen the promised land. He was buried in the ground, since called the Chapel burial-place ; and as others died, they desired their bodies might be laid near him. It is natural to wish that the kindred dust may mingle, though many think it a weakness, who are very rational and cold in their conceptions ; but it is something like a sentiment of the heart, and must certainly influence where there is a glow of the social affections.

The First Church in Boston was built on a spot more south-easterly than the place where it is situated at present. It became distinct very soon from the church at Charlestown, who settled Mr. James, while Mr. Wilson kept his relation with the other part of the brethren. This worthy man went to England the ensuing spring, and left his congregation on each side the river to the care of those who could *prophecy* ; though they were not qualified to preach. A particular description of their parting is written by Governor Winthrop. " On the 29th of March, 1631, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Wilson, and divers of the congregation, met at the Governor's, and there Mr. Wilson, praying and exhorting to love, &c. commended to them the exercise of prophecy in his absence, and designed those whom he thought most fit for it, viz. the Governor, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowel, the elder ; then he desired
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the Governor to commit himself and the rest to God by prayer, which being done, they accompanied him to the boat, and so they went over to Charlestown to go by land unto the ship." This ship sailed April 1st, from the town of Salem, and arrived at London in twenty-nine days.

About this time, the church in Salem, having called Mr. Roger Williams to be their teaching elder, received a letter from the Court holden in Boston to this effect: "That their teacher would not commune with the churches in Boston, because they would not make a publick declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they tarried there." Another peculiarity of this divine was, "that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the sabbath, nor any other offence that was a breach of the first table." It was matter of surprise to all who knew these things, that the good people of Salem should be so precipitate in their choice, and proceed so far without consulting their brethren in other parts of the plantation. He had only been in the country a few weeks when his invitation came to settle with the people of Salem. In February, the ship *Lyon* brought a number of passengers, among them Mr. Williams, "a godly man," says Governor Winthrop; and who doubtless possessed many excellent gifts amidst the excentricities of his opinion, and certain irregularities of conduct.

Many things are related of this distinguished character in the annals of Massachusetts; he afterwards made a greater figure in the settlement of the Providence plantations. Upon the remonstrance of the General Court, he went to Plymouth, where he assisted Ralph Smith until the close of the year 1632, when he returned to Salem, and preached to a people who certainly admired his pulpit talents. He gave satisfaction to those who were prejudiced against him, on account of the contracted spirit he had discovered; and offered to burn the book with his own hand, if this should be required. For some time the churches had rest, except some trifling differences in particular churches, which called for a conference, in which the magistrates, Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowel, gave their opinion as men gifted and learned in theological controversy.

verfy. Very particular mention is made of an elder in the church at Watertown, much to his honour in an age of bigotry, though censured by worthy men who were influenced by the spirit of the age. "The congregation being much divided about their elder, Mr. Brown, both parties repaired to the Governor for assistance, whereupon he went to Watertown with the Deputy-Governor, &c. and the congregation being assembled, the Governor told them, that being come to settle peace, they might proceed in three distinct respects. 1. As magistrates, their assistance being desired. 2. As members of a neighbouring congregation. 3. Upon the answer we received of our letter, which did no way satisfy us. But Mr. Phillips, the pastor, denied we should sit as members of a neighbouring congregation, whereunto we consented." [*Winthrop's Jour. Dec. 8, 1631.*]

The question was, whether the churches of Rome could be true churches? The elder had said, they might be, notwithstanding their degeneracy and corruptions; but the sentiment was declared to be erroneous; this was a declaration of the majority of the Council, though some dissented.

The little flock scattered in this wilderness were not left as sheep without a shepherd, having such a man as Governor Winthrop to lead and guide them; but they were glad to have pastors set over them, and rejoiced when such came to America, who would abide with particular churches. That excellent man, Mr. John Eliot, arrived at Boston, 1631; joined the church there, and was invited to be their teacher, but preferred a spot a few miles distance, which was named Roxbury, where he became a useful minister; his works still praise him. Hooker, Cotton, and Welde, were soon added to the worthies of the plantation, and fed the people with knowledge, guiding their particular flocks where the desert land exhibited the face of cultivated society, and the thorny wilds had become *green pastures*. The great and good men in the parent country, who could not enjoy rest on account of their belief, however they conducted; whose good names could not secure them from reproach, nor their innocence and probity defend them from the rods of ecclesiastick tyrants, with

with which they were sometimes scourged, and which were continually shaken over their heads, turned their views towards this new world ; and here many of them found a shelter from the storm, and a shadow from the heat.

In the month of September, 1633, the famous John Cotton arrived at Boston, and was immediately connected with the First Church. When he joined the church, he offered his son for baptism, who had the name *Sea-born* given him because he was born on the water : it is worthy of notice, [in this place] because this administration of baptism affords us a view of his opinion of the ordinance. He did not baptise the child on the ocean, because there was not a regular congregation there. But another reason was, that a minister had no power to give the *seals* but in his own congregation. He would not consent that his wife should make an open confession of her faith, when she was admitted to the church, because, he said, it was against the apostle's order, and not fit for a woman's modesty ; but he gave his testimony of her qualifications, and consented that the elders should examine her. When they were admitted, and their child baptised, the father presented it ; —the child's baptism being, as he affirmed on other occasions, the father's instruction for the help of his faith.

In such high esteem was Mr. Cotton held, that his word became, as it were, a law to the people. From the respect the magistrates paid to his opinion, we should suppose oracles of wisdom dropped from his lips. But there was a time when he discovered a want of judgment in his preaching, and of discretion in his conduct ; when he endangered his own reputation, and appeared one of those who threw all things, civil and ecclesiastical, into confusion. We must impute this to the nature of enthusiasm. There is frequently a romantick ardour, which religious people have in propagating their opinions, and which they mistake for evangelical zeal ; but if we are to judge by the fruits of it, there is nothing like the beauties of holiness, or law of love. Whoever reads the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson must be convinced of this, whether he reflects upon the conduct of her friends and adherents ; or the opposition that was made to her by the magistrates, and by all the ministers. We may except Cotton and Wheelwright.

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The one was her brother, and as complete an Antinomian in his principles, with a temper similar to herself. Mr. Cotton was also her pastor, and had uttered sentiments so much like those which she propagated, that he was accused of being of the same party. It was this controversy which caused the synod to be called in 1637. Many errors were pointed out and condemned. Before we give a particular account of this, however, we are to consider the rise and consequences of another dispute between the people of Salem and the government, and which ended in the banishment of Roger Williams.

Mr. Skelton died in 1634. Mr. Williams was chosen his successor. It has been related, that he was a man of singular opinions, some of which he gave up for the sake of peace, or from conviction. He was again accused of opposing the government, equally, with the prevailing opinions of the churches. If we may judge of the case, from the papers which have come down to us, he defended himself against the pastors of the other churches, and the magistrates, with much acumen, and a candid spirit. Polemick theologians discover too often an acerbity of spirit and sarcastick humour in their contentions for the truth, although their cry is, they are all for peace. His writings, if they be a fair copy of his mind, shew him to be a better man, than he is described in the early history of this country.

By some writers he is held up as an enemy to the peace and order of society ; a man opinionated and turbulent ; a religious bigot, whose aim was to make confusions in the churches, or to be marked for his piety, or singularity. That very liberality of sentiment is censured by the author of the *Magnalia*, which would cast a lustre around him in the present age.

By other historians, he is represented to be a man of good temper, with a zeal for the truth.

“Mr. Williams appeared,” says Mr. Callender in his *Account of Rhode-Island*, “through the whole tenor and course of his life and conduct, to be one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly-minded soul.”

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He certainly supported a most excellent character after he went to Providence plantations, and the next generation ought to have forgotten his errors. Much allowance should be made for him, when we consider that Mr. Cotton and Governor Winthrop were his opposers, and that they were enthusiastically fond of that constitution of church government which he disliked. He was for indulging unlimited toleration of religious opinions. But they thought otherwise; that it was not only an error but a crime to admit such a latitude of thinking; that it was necessary rather to use a whip of cords, and drive men in, as well as out of the temple. We must recur to facts when we pretend to decide concerning his conduct. These certainly show how far he was involved in theological heresy, and guilty of political transgression. The Governor and Assistants met in Boston, 27th December, 1634, and took into consideration a treatise Mr. Williams (then of Salem) had sent unto them; and which he had formerly written to the Governor and Council of Plymouth; wherein among other things he disputed their right to the lands they possessed there, and concluded that claiming by the King's grant they could have no title, nor otherwise, except they compounded with the natives.

For this, taking advice with some of the most judicious ministers, who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption, they gave order that he should be convened to the next Court, to be censured, &c.

There were three passages in which they were offended. 1st. For that he charges King James with telling a solemn lie in publick, because in the Patent he blesses God that he was the first Christian Prince that had discovered the land. 2dly. For that he charges him and others with blasphemy, for calling Europe Christendom or the Church world. 3dly. For that he did apply to King Charles those three places in the Revelations, &c.

Mr. Endicot being absent, the Governor wrote to him, "letting him know what was done, and withal adding several arguments to confute the said errors, wishing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the same, and whereunto he returned a very modest and discreet answer. Mr. Williams also wrote to the Governor (and also to him) and the

the rest of the Council very submissively, professing his intent to have been only to have written for the private satisfaction of the gentlemen, &c. of Plymouth, without any further purpose, if the Governor had not required a copy of him. At the next Court, he gave satisfaction, and the matter ended."

This narrative of what Mr. Williams said, and did, might come with more propriety into the political history of Massachusetts; but it has some relation to the account of the religious controversy which succeeded; and it certainly puts the character of the man in a more favourable view than many have considered it. From an excentricity of genius he might be led into strange mistakes; but he was not disposed to maintain his opinion, in opposition to the general sentiment of the people. It would have been happy for him, and his friends, had he been as ready to retract his errors in certain doctrines of religion; and much for the credit of New-England if he had experienced less severity from the magistrates, and more candid treatment from his clerical brethren. Mr. Roger Williams, like other partizans of religious controversy, was more zealous to maintain, to defend, and propagate scholastick notions, or sentiments of little consequence to good morals, than he had been when he first wrote in opposition to publick sentiment and the laws. Then he declared opinions more alarming to the state of society, in this new world; though much more consistent with the energies of a great mind. *Here* he discovered the fruits of an obstinacy and inflexible perseverance, which hitherto had not been characteristic of the man. His adversaries were also strong in their prejudices. Their zeal was more like the fire that burneth, than the godly jealousy of the meek apostles of the Christian faith. All persecution for religious opinions is wrong. Our fathers indulged the spirit of it more than became men, who had complained of the bigotry of other churches, and openly espoused the cause of freedom and toleration, in the parent state. They were most excellent men; but where do we find men so excellent, that something does not intervene which shows that no characters on earth shine with a pure and perfect lustre?

The observation is not to be confined to the controversy with Roger Williams, but appears to be just, upon succeeding views of their conduct towards Mrs. Hutchinson, the various sects of Antinomians, whose doctrines were contrary to theirs ; or to those of the Episcopal persuasion, the Baptists, and Quakers, who made an opposition to the form and discipline of the churches.

The doctrines, for which Roger Williams was banished, were :—" That a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an *unregenerate man*, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain."

" That it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for good men to join in family prayer with those they judge unregenerate."

" That the civil magistrate ought not to punish breaches of the first table, except the peace of the community was disturbed."

Another peculiar sentiment was, that after meat we ought *not* to return thanks.

Other charges were made against him ; but even when aggravated with acrimony of temper by his adversaries, they amount only to extravagant conduct ; or an extraordinary zeal for his singular opinions, which would not be singular to many of the present generation ; yet were then censured by the magistrates and ministers, and issued in his removal to a place beyond the jurisdiction of this province.

The next religious controversy was less important in its nature ; but involved something more remarkable in its consequences. This was a mere question of Antinomianism, which Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of sense, spirit, and party zeal, brought forward to the consideration of the *publick*.

The late Gov. Hutchinson has printed an account of her trial, which is a curious document in the history of this country, where every question, with her reply, is marked down ;—every person's name is mentioned, who put the questions to the lady ; and she appears to gain such an advantage of the Court, that we cannot but perceive it was the hand of a friend who took minutes of the *trial*.

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The observation of a writer already quoted,* a writer against the New-England churches, is, that a serious quarrel took place in this country. They set up two parties. One for the *covenant of works* ; and the other for the *covenant of grace* ; and they quarrelled till they who were for the covenant of grace banished their opposers to the plantations now known by the name of the Rhode-Island government." Contrary to this representation, they who went to Rhode-Island were the Antinomians. It is true that many things might have been settled by the exercise of candour and prudence, which caused a difference between the church in Boston, and the neighbouring churches ; it is likewise true that Mr. Coddington and others, principal members of the First Church, either from serious motives, or displeasure at the influence of Winthrop and Dudley, left the town, and fixed at Rhode-Island, where they became a distinct government. Mr. Williams had gone before to Providence, and did more than any other man in this wilderness to calm the spirits of the savages, and to prevent the whites in the neighbouring plantations from becoming a prey to their cruel stratagems. Both Williams and Coddington were friendly to the people of Massachusetts, and afterwards maintained a friendly correspondence with their old friends, and some principal characters, being esteemed and valued by them. It is very difficult to distinguish between the influence of political and religious opinions, when the parties are zealous in the community. Religion entered into every thing which arrested the attention of the fathers of Massachusetts, and the magistrates were elected and dismissed, according to the principles or notions which were most prevalent. The dispute with Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson was, properly speaking, an Antinomian controversy, but it had its influence upon all the civil affairs of the plantation. In the year 1636, Sir Henry Vane, the governor, was on one side ; and the deputy-governor, on another ; both were learned in theology ; none of the ministers understood the subject better. Winthrop had more prudence and learning ; and the people of the inland towns were more acquainted with his worth. They had made every exertion to get him into the chair ; but the people

* Philadelphia Centinel.

people of Boston were fond of this stranger. Struck with the gravity of the man, and being influenced by Cotton, who believed Vane to be a saint because he was an enthusiast, they supported his interest in the state, and his religious sentiments in the churches. They filled the air with their plaudits, and the storm of their wrath burst upon the head of his enemies, especially on Winthrop, and Mr. Wilson their own pastor, whose firmness on the occasion was remarkable, considering the mild tenor of his deportment at other times. For he was a person of condescending manners and loved every thing which makes peace. But he joined his influence with the inhabitants of other towns, and warmly supported their cause, so as to have the election proceed in May, 1637, when Boston made every attempt to stop it, and the assembly did not proceed till they were moved by his speech. That year, however, Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, and Vane, with his particular adherents, left out of the magistracy. Had not this alteration been made, there would have been the greatest danger to the good New-England principles, which the first settlers professed ; and a probability that their faith being wrecked, the vessel of state would also sink in the waves.

Mr. Coddington, Mr. Vane, and most of the members of Boston church, with their teacher, Mr. Cotton, were reckoned friends of Mrs. Hutchinson. Some joined fully in her opinion of justification ; others wished to make use of her influence and party, to establish their own spiritual dominion over the people in the land. She was brought into court, November, 1637. The account of her trial has been mentioned, but it seems proper we should know the opinion of our early historians concerning this extraordinary woman. One of them says, “ this gentlewoman was of a nimble wit, voluble tongue, and great charity, especially when the children of the household of faith stood in need of the assistance of each other ; which was the opportunity usually taken to insinuate into the spiritual state of those she came among, telling them of the danger of being under a covenant of works ; by which means the affections of those, labouring under bodily infirmities, became susceptible of any novel impressions, especially such as tended to exalt free grace, depress the creature, and leave
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all for Christ to do. And as the devil attempted to ruin mankind by the insinuation of a new divinity, began with Eve, and, by her, surpris'd her husband ; the same course is still found the most successful, and was to admiration verified with the good ladies in and about Boston." Hubbard.

When Mrs. Hutchinson was brought into court, and she was charged with her errors, she was told to reform her manners, or she must suffer the penalty of the law. She solicited to speak upon the occasion, and it being *granted*, she declared the manner of God's dealing with her, applying certain texts of scripture to herself, like other fanaticks, who flatter themselves with the imaginary excellencies of their character, or the peculiar interpositions of heaven in their favour, and thus claim a distinction among their fellow-creatures, which their good works would never give them.* In the plenitude of her spiritual assurance she threw such an insult upon the court, as to quote the passage in Daniel, where the princes and presidents sought something against him ; saying, " See, this day, this scripture fulfilled in mine eyes ! Take heed what ye do unto me ; I am in the hands of God my saviour." One text of scripture she spake with peculiar emphasis. Jeremiah 46. " Though I make a full end of all the nations, yet will I not make a full end of thee." Mr. Hubbard says this " is very remarkable as to the end that befel her." It seems that Mrs. Hutchinson went from this province to Rhode-Island, thence to New-York, and was killed by the Indians. Had Governor Winthrop, from whom Hubbard takes his remarks, omitted some observations and certain matters related as facts, his journal would now be held in greater credit. But whatever he wrote, he believed fully ; and some, on the opposite side of the question respecting her principles, were persuaded that the divine judgments followed that unhappy woman. It was an age of credulity. This gentleman, and the historian aforementioned, were among the best men, and the most judicious, this country ever produced. But no man is wise at all times ; and those who are judicious in most things, often show a weakness of mind in certain opinions which have something

* See Winthrop, Mather, &c.

thing marvellous in the relation, or are combined with their prejudices. Many of the present generation with justice smile at the absurd account of Mrs. Hutchinson, related in Winthrop's Journal; but the report at the time obtained general credit. It came from a distance, and there were none to contradict it. The prodigies and strange events, mentioned by ancient historians of the first name, do not destroy the general belief of their writings. In the pages of Livy and Plutarch, the grossest absurdities are mingled with that luminous narration of truths which constitute the excellency of their history. Is it any wonder that grave and pious men, in this secluded part of the world, should mention as facts in their narrative, what men of a wiser age cannot receive, and know to be absurd? But it does not deprive them of their reputation even for judgment, when we make proper allowance for the times in which they lived, and the prejudices of people in the early state of society. We may consider likewise what passed in the old countries of Europe, at this very period. There were men in England, and other places in that civilized part of the globe, as much the slaves of a credulous imagination, as the people who settled these plantations. No exception is made to the abilities and character of chief justice Hale, who lived years after Mr. Winthrop, yet, in certain parts of his writings, he discovers as much imbecility of mind, as we see in the pages of the New-England Journal.

This episode is designed to chase away wrong impressions, where persons are disposed to make ludicrous or severe observations upon the death of Mrs. Hutchinson, and to tread hardly upon the ashes of our fathers, who not only banished her from the jurisdiction, but continued to load her memory with reproaches, and make the divine vengeance pursue her. Much of the blame falls upon the ministers, who were zealous men; but their enemies had become the prevailing party, and might have kept their influence had they not been more fanatical than wise. Had they not gone to an extreme, when Vane was governor, which excited the spirit of moderate men, who were not much disposed to favour one ruler more than another, and some of whom disliked the power given to the clergy in
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the affairs of the province, the people who settled Rhode-Island might have been the first characters in Massachusetts. The great Cotton would have not wavered, but have been a partizan, most likely, in their cause. Wheelwright would certainly have been his colleague, and even their elders and deacons have appeared as *stars* in the churches. There was this difference between Cotton and Wheelwright. The former was more of a peace-maker; his zeal was qualified; though at times this was rather like the fire of emulation, than a coal taken from the divine altar. But the latter was opinionated, decisive, and regardless of consequences. He cared neither for men nor measures, and carried his seditious language even to the pulpit. This man seemed desirous of increasing the unhappy divisions which then disturbed the churches, and were combined with all civil business. During the contention, Mr. Cotton preached from Isaiah lviii. 4. "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health spring forth speedily," &c.

This was considered as a sermon calculated to heal the divisions, and make men judge with candour; such kind of sermons tend to do good at any period; but Wheelwright preached the other part of the day, and was fierce in his manner of speaking, and his matter was more unbecoming than any discourse ever preached in the country. He attacked magistrates and ministers, calling them Jews, Herods, and Philistines, and said that they walked in such a way of salvation as none ever did, but those who were under a *covenant of works*.* For this, he was called to account, and though a number of his respectable friends signed a protest against the proceedings of the court, he was banished for sedition. He was obstinate for some time, thinking he could appeal to a superiour tribunal in England; but being convinced of the contrary, he submitted, and left the province. After remaining a number of years in exile, he made an open confession of his errors, and was restored to the communion and good will of the people. Winthrop and Dudley exerted themselves strenuously to crush the influence of the Antinomian party, and the

* T. Welde's Narrative.

the synod which met at Newtown this year, 1677, gave no small strength to the principles which they approved.

A synod of our Congregational churches is a religious assembly, called on special occasions, for giving advice and counsel in case of difficulty. It consists of the ministers and lay messengers, such as each religious society chooses to send, who debate upon the subject before them, and present the *result* for the approbation of the brethren of the several churches. No synod is allowed to pass censures, or to exert authority, jurisdiction, or discipline; but the weight of their opinion is very considerable, and had no small influence in the early settlement of Massachusetts. An *independent synod*, says Mr. Neal, is nothing else but a council to the several churches, called together upon proper occasions, not to make laws and decrees which shall bind men upon pain of excommunication and deprivation, but to advise them how to act under their present difficulties; and if a church or private person refuses to hearken to their advice, the last remedy is, to declare they will no longer hold communion with them. Magistrates have power to call a synod, when the publick welfare of the country requires it; and may send to the churches, to commission elders and messengers to meet together, and assist them with their advice; but if the magistrates neglect to do this, any particular church may send to the rest, and seek their advice in the same way.

In this synod, the first of the kind assembled in New-England, were present, the messengers of the several churches; the magistrates of the province, who not only added to the dignity of the synod, but preserved order and kept the peace. Such as gloried in their Antinomian sentiments were admitted to the freedom of debate. Much subtilty and theological refinement must have been displayed; for of the various questions which became objects of discussion, no less than eighty-two errors were pointed out in their result. The moderators of the synod were the celebrated Thomas Hooker, and Peter Buckley, pastor of the church in Concord. All joined in the condemnation of the new opinions, except Mr. Cotton, who openly declared his abhorrence of most of the errors, which indeed had been propagated by his particular friends, who were
very

very severe in their animadversions on his conduct ; but in the article of justification, he dissented from his brethren of the synod. It is said the Antinomians were very indecent and clamorous ; this we learn from Mr. Welde, who was present, and afterwards wrote an *Account of the rise, progress and ruin of Antinomianism in Massachusetts*. He was a bitter enemy to the sect, but does not give a worse account of their conduct than others who were less engaged in the dispute. Indeed the force of prejudice operated upon the minds of every class in the community. All the accounts agree in stating the number of the questions discussed. The errors were first pointed out by a committee ; then the subject was debated. One day was given for the defendants ; another for the opponents : after which, the assembly made up their judgment.

One of those gentlemen, who left the province, and went to Rhode-Island, has given a narrative of their proceedings, and says, that notwithstanding so many errors were brought forward, the chief points of difference were these.

“ Touching the covenants ; and in the points of a man’s evidencing his good estate.”

“ Some,” he “ observes, pressed hard for a covenant of works, and for sanctification to be the first and chief evidence. Others pressed as hard for the covenant of grace, that was established on better promises, and for the evidence of the Spirit, as that which is a more sure, constant, and satisfactory witness.”

Dr. Mather calls these men, who differed from the synod, *opinionists*, and will not allow that his ancestor, Mr. Cotton, was one of them ; but each side claims him as of their way of thinking. The points in debate, according to him, were five.

The order of things in our union to the Lord Jesus Christ. The influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness.

The use of our sanctification in evidence of our justification.

The consideration of our Lord Jesus Christ by men yet under a covenant of works.

The grounds of our assurance of blessedness in a future world.

These points were debated in the synod between Mr. Cotton and the synod, and he remained unsatisfied with all their arguments and persuasions. The Antinomians drew all their consequences from his opinions, and therefore accused him of inconsistency, dereliction of the good cause, and said he might be compared to a light in a dark lantern.

Mr. Callender, a judicious writer of the Baptist persuasion, and minister of Rhode-Island, tells us, that each side ascribed to the other consequences they would not own. The first of the eighty-two errors, discussed in the synod, charges, as a consequence of the opinion, the denial of the immortality of the soul. "If the faculties are really quiescent and passive, in the work of conversion, or regeneration, then it must die with the body"; and yet these divines, without one exception, believed fully the doctrine of election and irresistible grace.

The main question in the dispute was, whether any man could receive the comforts of his justification, if he were sanctified; or by what evidence a man could know his justification? "The bigger part of the country made the first main stress upon sanctification." The other part thought this an Arminian sentiment, inconsistent with the doctrines of grace, and "made the application of the Divine Spirit as a promise to the regenerate, begetting in them, or revealing to them a powerful assurance," the only evidence of justification.

These doctrines have always divided the Protestants, and ought not to kindle the fire of contention among the disciples of the Prince of peace. Nothing need be more inconsistent than to suppose christians to be of one opinion, where freedom of thought is allowed, and the Bible is in every man's hands, for each one to form his judgment. The same theological opinions are as much in dispute now; but we can bear with the ebullition of religious zeal and feel no necessity of calling a synod, and of having the voice of magistrates in things of a purely spiritual nature. This was the fault of an age less distinguished by its candour,

dour, though, as many think, not less illuminated with the beams of evangelical truth.

After this controversy, new sects sprang up in New-England, whose giddy reveries led to a very fanatical behaviour. They were generally styled Familists; and were not more sudden in expressing their unsubstantial notions, than obstinate in defending them. Samuel Gorton was supposed to be their leader; and this man is handed down as a most unprincipled being, by Morton, Mather, and others, who have imputed every thing bad to him; but we ought to consider the force of their prejudices which prevented them from being impartial, although they were sincere. It is common to disfigure opinions that differ from ours, especially if our adversaries have represented us to be deficient in talents and honesty; and we certainly exhibit our own opinion to the greatest advantage, when nothing guides us but an attachment to our way of thinking. *Gorton* wanted a clear head and a sound judgment; but there is nothing proved which makes him appear destitute of religion, which is so declared in our histories. It is said, he even denied a future existence, and was an enemy to the moral and social virtues. He, on the other hand, opposes them who had thus delineated his character, and imputes to them equal weakness of mind. *Gorton* came to Rhode-Island in June, 1638; two years afterwards he went to Providence. A complaint of him was made to the Massachusetts government, which he disregarded. They summoned him to appear at Boston; he refused, denying their jurisdiction. They sent and took him, kept him a prisoner, tried, and condemned him. He was banished. Then he fixed his residence at Warwick, one of the towns of the Providence plantation. He lived to a great age, officiated as a minister, became learned in the languages, though he had pretended to despise human learning and a liberal education. His enmity to the Quakers has been also a subject of remark, and no wonder; for they are upon the extreme opposite to Antinomianism, and all the errors termed Familistick. Concerning his principles and his life, we can in some measure judge from his own letter to Mr. Morton, wherein he blames him for his manner of writing his memorial.*

* Vid. Appendix to Hutchinson's History.

“ You

“ You say that I have spoken words that there is no state and condition of men after this life. I do verily believe there is not a man, woman or child upon the earth, that will come forth and say, they ever heard such words come out of my mouth. And I appeal to God, the judge of all secrets, that there never was such a thought entertained in my heart.”

He speaks of himself as a preacher of the gospel, and that he preached to no small acceptance in London, where the congregations heard him without those prejudices which the people of Plymouth and Massachusetts had against him.

“ The ministers of London were among his hearers, and they appointed lectures there and in other places for him.”

He says, “ You know that I hold my call to preach the gospel, not inferiour to any minister in the country, though I was not bred up at the schools of human learning ; and I bless God that I never was ; lest I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, through Aristotle’s principles, and other heathen philosophers, as millions are, and have been, who ground their preaching of the gospel upon human principles, to the falsifying the word of God, in the ruin of men’s souls. Yet this I doubt not of, there has been as much true use made of the languages, within these twenty years past, in the place where I live, as has been in any church in New-England : I know the manner of your preaching very well.”

This letter, the whole of it curious, is dated Warwick, June 30, 1669.

From comparing all accounts we can obtain of Samuel Gorton, he was an excentrick man, a great enthusiast, a rigid Antinomian, an enemy to the clergy ; he despised their mode of preaching. He was at times a disturber of the peace, and therefore not a good member of the community ; but he was a religious man in his professions, and died in the belief of what he supposed to be the truths of the Bible. Some, who were called Gortonists, might run to extremes, and to greater absurdities than himself ; but could not be more obnoxious to the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts.

Such wild notions as the Familists and other fanaticks hold and believe, have a tendency to injure the cause of
virtue

virture and morality. But they who believe them, do not admit the consequences. Each sectary pretends to the same regard for the Bible, and every system, in the view of its supporters, will make men wiser and better. We often see the spirit of the gospel animating the lives and conversation of persons, whose particular sentiments and circumstances may be thought very unfavourable to its growth ; and we often, alas ! find it wanting, where it might be expected to shine in its greatest strength and lustre. Let the opinions of the Gortonists be ever so bad, they denied the consequences which their opponents drew from them, and even Governor Winthrop said, at the trial of their leader, he could agree with them in their answers, though he could not in their writings.

The charge was exhibited in the following words :
 “ Upon much examination and serious consideration of
 “ your writings, with your answers about them, we do
 “ charge you with being a blasphemous enemy of the true
 “ religion of Jesus Christ, and his holy ordinances, and also
 “ of civil authority among the people of God, and par-
 “ ticularly in this jurisdiction.” The Court asked Gorton what he understood by the faith of the gospel ? He said, “ It was the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.” When they brought forth his writings, he explained them in such a manner that no evidence of blasphemy appeared, and he was condemned, against his own confession of his principles, by that opinion they had previously taken up concerning his writing, which was a hard sentence, and contrary to our ideas of toleration as members of civil society, and certainly against every sentiment dipped in the dew of that heavenly charity which is not confined to, or excluded from, any one party, or description of professing disciples.*

About

* Hutchinson says, the sentence of the Court was cruel. Gorton was ordered to be confined to the town of Charlestown, there to be kept at work, and to wear such bolts and irons as might hinder his escape ; and if he broke his confinement, or by speech or writing published or maintained any of the blasphemous abominable heresies wherewith he had been charged by the General Court, or should reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these United Colonies, upon conviction thereof he should suffer death.

Gorton

About this time, several ministers came over to America, some with high raised expectations that the country was better cultivated than they found it, and that they could live here in as easy circumstances, as among the European settlements. They soon found themselves deceived; and their expectations being completely frustrated, every desire was chilled which once warmed their breasts at the thought of passing their days in the new world.

Gorton says that they cast a lot for their lives, putting it to the major vote of the Court whether they should live or die; and that God in his providence ordered it so, that a majority of two votes were in favour of them. But several things which he asserted, were absolutely denied, and his writings show a man opinionated, with strong passions, and a deep sense of the injury done him.

After being confined one winter, he was banished from Massachusetts, and from the land purchased by him of the Indians. But he went to England, and obtained liberty to enjoy these lands in *Narraganset bay*.

Gorton came to Boston in 1648. The Court upon his arrival ordered him to be apprehended, but producing a letter from the Earl of Warwick, desiring that he might have liberty to return home, the Court recalled the order, and gave him a week's liberty to provide for his departure.

The writer of this ecclesiastical narrative had an opportunity of knowing something similar to Gorton's expressions, conduct, and trial, in the town of Boston. A man from the State of Rhode-Island was accused of blasphemy, and brought *before a Court of Justices*. He was said to be a *deist*, an *atheist*, blasphemer of the Bible, &c. He denied it all. Witnesses were produced who had heard him say, That the Bible was *not* the *word of God*. He acknowledged that he said it, and that every Christian would say the same; that he was no atheist, or deist, but loved his Redeemer and venerated his Bible. Being asked, how he could be consistent? he answered, "That his Bible told him that *Christ* was the *word of God*, and the Bible a *record of the divine will*. This was all he meant by saying the Bible was not the *word of God*." He was dismissed, and he laughed heartily at his accusers. This man had been a Quaker preacher; became a preacher of the Universalists, and had a small congregation in the *County of Berkshire*, in 1794; but has never been permitted to preach in the other churches of Universalists, his notions being very peculiar, and such his manner of expressing himself as people of all persuasions must dislike.

Yet he possesses that acuteness of reasoning, and recollective memory for quoting scripture, which would have been fully equal to Gorton, had he met with the same opposition; but the spirit of persecution has flown from this State, to the mortification of many who wish to be of consequence, and would fain raise its ghost, for the sake of complaining of the present magistrates and clergy, but cannot find even the shadow on the wall.

world. Those men are only calculated to settle a new place who can endure hardship ; and those ministers were only fit for New-England who could conform themselves to the habits of the people, or yield to some of their peculiarities. Those who could not do this, did not succeed, especially in the old colony of Plymouth, where the people were more rigid in their puritanick notions, and had been less favoured with a variety of ministers and other learned men, to enlarge their views, and divest them of their prejudices. Mr. Blinman, a gentleman of Wales, and a preacher of the gospel, was one, who expected to find a welcome reception. Being invited to Green's harbour near Plymouth, he and his friends meant there to settle, but the influence of a few gifted brethren made learning or prudence of little avail. They compared him "to a piece of new cloth in an old garment," and thought they could do better without patching. The old and new planters, to speak a more modern style, could not agree, and parted. Mr. Blinman and his company came to Massachusetts and settled at Cape Ann, which the General Court established the same year as a plantation, and called it Gloucester.

This year, 1642, Woburn was made a town, from being a part of Charlestown, and Mr. Carter was ordained pastor of their church. Having no officers, nor any members of the church, who thought themselves capable of bearing a part of the solemnity, they were advised by some to desire the elders of other churches to perform it ; but others supposing it might introduce the dependency of churches, &c. according to the form of a Presbytery, objected, and therefore it was performed by one of their own members, though not to the satisfaction of some of the ministers and magistrates then present. Since that time, Mr. Hubbard observes, it has been more frequent for the neighbouring churches to send ministers and delegates to act, or join in the service ; which implies a communion of churches, or a kind of fellowship, quite consistent with the Congregational plan, but different from the manner of the Presbyterians.

In the same year, three very eminent divines of this country were invited to the famous assembly of Westminster.

ster. The letter which was sent to them is preserved in Hutchinson's History, signed by several of the nobility and members of the lower house, as well as the ministers who then made a figure in England, and had influence among the members of that ecclesiastical body. Mr. Cotton, minister of Boston, was the first of the three, to whom probably the letter was directed, and who thought it *a call of God* which he ought to obey. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport, both of Connecticut, were joined with him ; but did not receive the invitation with the same lively and impressive force. One supposed it unnecessary to go so far upon a business of this nature, and the other could not feel it his duty to leave his church, where he certainly was very useful. These gentlemen had all written upon church government ; they differed in some opinions of discipline, but were all found in the faith of what were then called the doctrines of the Reformation.*

These

* These three men, such luminaries in this obscure part of the world, and whose light shone upon distant places, have been subjects of the biographical part of the *Magnalia Americana*.

They were men of *name* in their own country, and the application now made for their assistance is an evidence how worthy they were of esteem ; and deserve more than sketches of a character in the pages of every ecclesiastical history. Their biography may be collected from books published in Europe, from Winthrop's Journal, Cotton Mather's Lives, and scattered fragments in other narratives.

Thomas Hooker was a rival of Mr. Cotton, and was supposed by many to be his equal, if not his superior ; but the influence of Mr. Cotton was greater in Massachusetts. "The rivalry between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, two favourite ministers in the settlement of Massachusetts bay, disposed the latter, who was less successful in the contest of fame and power, to wish for some settlement at a distance from a competitor by whom his reputation was eclipsed."

Thus speaks Dr. Robertson ; and adds, "A good number of those who had imbibed Mrs. Hutchinson's notions, and were offended at such as combated them, offered to accompany him." This is a very wrong representation. Mr. Hooker moved away before any controversy took place of the kind mentioned. His church, as well as their minister, were more opposite to Mrs. Hutchinson, and all the Antinomians, than any church in Massachusetts. The great Dr. Robertson paid more respect to Douglas, than to all the American historians. But Douglas wrote carelessly, and when he had given his opinion would not alter it, though facts appeared to contradict his assertion. This Scotsman, with the pride of a foreigner, despised the people who gave him his subsistence,

ence,

These doctrines have been as firmly held, and as strenuously defended in New-England as any part of Christendom. Had every minister of Massachusetts been active in forming the Westminster Confession of Faith, it would not

ence, and knew not enough of New-England, or any of the States, to write summaries about them.

Mr. Cotton had been expected in New-England before Hooker ; and therefore had some claim to the first attentions of the people. Many of them had been connected with him in England; and another thing which contributed to give him so much influence was, that so many of the magistrates resided in Boston. After all which can be said, it certainly was not this rivalry which stimulated to the settlement of Connecticut. Nor is any thing but conjecture offered for Mr. Hooker's being jealous of Cotton. The people wanted room ; there was a general desire to spread over the country, which operated upon the minds of the people who came over with Mr. Hooker, and led them to seek another settlement. This we learn from Winthrop's Journal, the best source of intelligence we have. Without mentioning particulars of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport, who were ministers of Connecticut, I shall give the biography of Mr. Cotton, as a matter combined with the present history.

John Cotton was born at Derby, A. D. 1684. His parents were persons of considerable quality and good reputation. Their condition, as to the good things of this life, competent. They were wise enough to employ their means to good purposes ;—and educated their son so as to make him eminent and useful. Their solicitude for this tender plant was well rewarded when they saw him, like a tree of life, feeding thousands with the doctrines of christianity ; and to them also the fruit of his lips was sweet.

After leaving the Grammar-School at Derby, he was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge. His industry was great, and his proficiency uncommon. From Trinity he was admitted to Emanuel, where he was soon made a *Fellow*. When he was elected, he was strictly examined. The portion of scripture, chosen to prove his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, contains more hard words than any other in the Bible—Isaiah iii.—Wherein the prophet declaims against the pride and haughtiness of the daughter of Zion. But so good an Hebrewician could not be at a stand ; it rather gave him an opportunity to show his ability and attention to that language. Being thus advanced, he was in a place for improvement ; he was surrounded with characters, who were proper objects of emulation ; the glow of genius appeared in his manner of giving and receiving instruction, and all his powers and faculties were quickened to attempt a resemblance of those who had the highest reputations for erudition. He soon rendered himself famous by his funeral oration for Dr. *Some*, Master of Peter-House, Cambridge. In this, he discovered a purity of style with the ornaments of rhetoric. The fame of his learning increased from his next publick performance, which was a University sermon, and he was often invited to

not have been more generally received. Almost a century after, it was necessary for every candidate to declare his belief in the doctrines of christianity as here explained, before any church would accept him for their minister ; their

preach in the same place. When he had been at Boston in Lincolnshire some months, he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity, and preached a *Concio ad Clerum*, in Latin, which was greatly admired. His text was Mat. v. 13. He appeared also to great advantage in answering a very acute opponent, Mr. William Chappel, who disputed with him.

For several years he preached to his people without any opposition, but when he urged his dislike of the ceremonies, he was brought before the Court of the bishop of Lincoln for his non-conformity ; from which he was advised to appeal to a higher Court, and employing Mr. Leverett (who was afterwards one of the ruling elders in the church of Boston, New-England) he was, through his means, restored to his church, who had much occasion to rejoice in his labours. He was so much in favour with Dr. Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, that when he was *Lord Keeper* of the great seal, he went to King James, and begged that a man of so much worth and learning might have liberty of preaching without interruption, though he was a non-conformist.

The earl of Dorchester, also, being at old Boston, was much affected when he heard him deliver a discourse upon civil government, and stood his friend in times of great opposition. These are the times to try and prove friendship. From men of urbanity and good nature the civilities of social life are readily granted ; but how few among the rich men of the city, and nobles of a kingdom, think of virtue in distress ! There were some, however, among the gentlemen and noblemen in England, who exerted themselves to serve worthy Puritan ministers, and kept them from prison and from penury, while bigots ruled the nation, and the vilest aspersions were cast upon all who were suspected of non-conformity.

Mr. Cotton was not able to stem the tide of party. He was ordered before the High Commission Court, who were disposed to pour out the bitterness of their wrath upon his head ; but they were disappointed of their aim, and, through the influence of those who were well disposed, he escaped, and came to New-England. It was observed, that he did not fly from the profession of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for the profession of it.

When Mr. Cotton came over to this country, they were busy in settling the affairs of the churches and commonwealth. In both of which he took an active part. Being requested to preach before the General Court, his text was Haggai ii. 4. " Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord ; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech the high priest ; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work ; for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts."

It was a usual thing for the magistrates to consult with the ministers, and Mr. Cotton was appointed with Gov. Winthrop to draw an *abstract* of

their shorter catechism is now taught in most of our families, and is combined with the education of a large proportion of our youth in publick schools and academies. It is said, that these divines received afterwards a different kind

of the *judicial* laws of the Mosaick system, so far as they are *moral*. It was his advice to establish a *Theocracy*.

Mr. Cotton began the sabbath on Saturday evening. He gave religious instructions and read the scriptures, and then retired into his study. He spent the sabbath day either in his study or in the pulpit. He was a very accomplished preacher; his voice had melody in it, and was sonorous; his sermons pathetick, and his critical acumen uncommon. This was discovered in his frequent expositions, and dissertations, upon passages and whole books of the scripture. He was considered as a great polemick divine; yet upon two occasions, when his talents were exerted this way, he was under no small disadvantage. In his controversy with Roger Williams, he had an opponent who not only possessed talents which would have made him great in any school, but had bent the force of his strong mind to the very subject which then employed their attention. In England, Mr. Cotton had written in favour of toleration, and against the power of the magistrate in matters of religion. Here, he had to oppose the sentiment he had formerly defended, and to write against the principles which the dissenting ministers in England then thought evangelical, and have, ever since, supported; and which are necessary to vindicate their separation.

He was accused of holding a bloody tenet by Williams, and the title of his answer was, *The Bloody Tenet washed in the Blood of the Lamb*.

In the general commotion of the country concerning the Antinomian sentiments, our celebrated divine lost much of the dignity of his character, and his influence in the churches. He did not go to the extreme which would please his friends, and some of them compared him to a *light* in a dark lantern. The other side were bitter in their animadversions upon his conduct. At the synod in 1637, he had to oppose the whole body of ministers, and some of them were disposed to vex him. Once he became so unhappy as to threaten to leave the plantation. The latter part of his ministry was less irksome. He enjoyed some years of rest after being tossed on the troubled sea. His labours were edifying to the people; his abilities and character were equally respected by the magistrates and his clerical brethren, who all lamented his death when he was sixty-eight years old, and mourned for the loss which the country as well as his people had sustained. He died December 23, 1652. His disorder was of a pulmonary nature, owing to his passing a ferry and getting wet, and then preaching in a neighbouring church. He was seized while he was delivering the sermon, and was never afterwards free from the complaint; yet he continued to labour, and a few weeks before his death he took for his subject the four last verses in 2d epistle to Timothy: giving as a reason why he chose several verses, that he should not live to finish them if he were more particular. He dwelt chiefly

kind of letter ; or such intimations as would have discouraged them, had they been ready to pursue their voyage.

From

chiefly upon these words, *Grace be with you all*. When he could preach no longer, he was visited by his pious friends, to whom he administered consolation and good instruction. He died in peace, and the last words which he uttered were pious and benevolent wishes to a friend who was endeavouring to soften the pillow of death ; and which caused others to say of him, that *he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost*.

Mr. Cotton married twice, and left a number of children. His descendants have spread over the country, and though no one has appeared equal to him in a rich variety of learning and popular talents, yet several of them have been eminent as preachers, and among the civilians of our country. He published many works ; some in Latin. These were printed in London, and they have since been re-printed in New-England. Among them we find *Milk for Babes*—and *Meat for Strong Men*, according to their power of digesting the *spiritual food*.

Some difference has appeared in the opinions expressed of this celebrated man. It has been suggested, that his character was blazoned beyond its merit ; for his biographers were Mr. Norton, his friend, who succeeded him as teacher of the *Old Church*, and Cotton Mather, his grandson. But his character was high before he came into this country. We have taken our account from books which were not published by any near relation, nor by men who were much prejudiced in his favour. His learning was allowed by all his contemporaries ; his piety and zeal none could doubt, for he sacrificed his ease, his interest, and his country, to enjoy the ordinances of religion. His candid spirit was not always in exercise. In the phrenzy of his imagination he blamed worthy men, and censured those who had great claim to his respect and affection ; yet Governor Winthrop, one opposite in sentiment upon politicks and religion, says of him, that he delivered himself in a gentle manner upon a subject which interested his feelings, and though he censures his opinions speaks with respect of the man. Others, as strong in their own sentiments, allow him candour and forbearance.

In those instances where he discovered intolerance and the spirit of bigotry, a zeal for ecclesiastical power, he only manifested the inconsistency of human nature. It is a true observation, that when men begin to taste of christian liberty themselves, they forget that other men have an equal title to enjoy it.

Such flagrant instances of inconsistency are so evident among christians, of all denominations, that it cannot be imputed as a reproach peculiar to any sect. Instead of disturbing the ashes of our ancestors, by repeating that the “very men who had fled from persecution became persecutors,” we had better imitate their virtues, throw a mantle over their failings, let instruction spring from their graves, and hope to meet them in that better world where just men are made perfect.

From what we learn concerning this convocation, or synod, or mixt assembly, it was rather difficult to get them together ; and many, who were chosen in England, Scotland, and the Protestant States on the Continent, never attended. It was so connected with the politicks of the day, that had all attended, who were elected members, the affairs of religion would have been only of secondary consideration. Out of thirty lay assessors, and one hundred and twenty divines, only sixty-seven appeared in Henry the Seventh's chapel, and drew the forms and orders of the assembly. Of these, some were Episcopal ministers, all of whom withdrew. The assembly was opened July 1, 1643, both houses of Parliament being present. Those who continued to be members of this assembly were learned, pious men ; among them, Mr. White of Dorchester, so often mentioned in the account of the Massachusetts, and the great *Selden*, whose name alone ought to rescue them from the reproaches of their enemies, some of whom are adverse to their puritanism, and others to their rigid notions of theology, though themselves ministers of the Independent churches. Nothing need be more absurd than the suggestion of the bishop of Gloucester, that *this assembly was made up of Brownists and Independents from New-England* ; whereas only three New-England ministers were sent to ; none appeared ; and, according to Mr. Neal, whose narrative I follow, there were but six Independents in this whole assembly.

During the course of this year, Mr. Bennet, a gentleman from Virginia, arrived at Boston, and represented the state of the churches in that colony to be truly deplorable. His object was to obtain a number of ministers from Massachusetts, where the churches were so well supplied, to settle and cultivate those waste and desolate places of our Lord's vineyard. The words of the Psalmist were then literally fulfilled : " The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." Virginia had been longer settled, but the planters had little or no religion. They cared for none of those things which occupied the sole attention of the more northern settlers, who had come over to America to enjoy the privileges of the gospel, and who had planted churches
wherever

wherever they had felled the trees, or by hard labour obtained subsistence from the soil.

The letters, written by some well disposed persons in that province, were read at the Boston Thursday lecture, and the people assembled were so much affected with the contents, that they set apart a day of prayer to seek the blessing of heaven upon their proceedings, and then chose three worthy divines, who could be better spared on account of the churches being supplied with two ministers. Mr. Phillips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson of Braintree, and Mr. Miller of Rowley, were agreed upon, approved by the General Court, and recommended by the Governor of this Province to the authority in Virginia. Mr. Phillips not being willing to go, Mr. Knowles, his fellow labourer, and Mr. Thompson, went to Narrhaganset, where they found the vessel which was to transport them. Mr. Miller did not depart with them on account of bodily indisposition, but they had Mr. James, formerly minister of Charlestown. These gentlemen were received in a kind and hospitable manner, and met with every encouragement from the success of their labours; but while they were the instruments of doing much good to the people, they met with opposition from the magistrates. The civil rulers of Virginia forbid their preaching, while the people flocked to them in private houses.

At their return, which was the next summer, they were able to tell, and the letters from Virginia confirmed it, that God had given abundant success and a lustre to their ministry. The time was not long they were in that country. *"The rulers did in a sense drive them out, having made an Order, that all such as did not conform to the discipline of the English Church should depart that country by such a day."*

Within this period, there was something like a struggle between the magistrates and ministers for power and influence; and some who were attached to the cause of religion, and loved their ministers, were disposed to make them sensible that they were too officious for their meek and humble calling. Mr. Cotton endeavoured to prove, from Numbers xxvii. 21. and other texts of holy writ, that the priesthood ought to be consulted by the magistrates,

not

not only before they went to war, but in every thing appertaining to the affairs of the *commonwealth*. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers told the people, that no governor ought to be continued more than one year. By such means, they roused the indignation of Dudley, and provoked the milder spirit of Winthrop to speak a contrary opinion. But in another matter, both magistrates and clergy had the same ideas of spiritual domination, and discovered a more intolerant spirit than they had known in the parent country. No man in the plantation was allowed to hold an estate, or vote as a freeman, except he were a member of a Congregational church, such as the New-England settlers had declared to be according to the model of primitive christianity. Mr. Maverick, who had fixed his tent on Noddle's island, and possessed some considerable property when the banks of Charles river were settled by our fathers, had been declared a freeman, though an Episcopalian ; which shows they were less rigid when they first came over, than they were afterwards. As soon as they felt their consequence, they realized certain powers which they never would have dared to exercise, had it not been for the confusions in England. *There* the Independents had the most influence, but they did not deprive other men, or sects, of the privileges of thinking for themselves, or enjoying, with their possessions, the privilege of society. *Here* was a kind of theocracy ; and the power given to members of churches, or rather taken by them, enabled them to build partition walls. The petitions of Robert Child, Maverick, and others, mark the character of men and of the times.

Hutchinson gives the most particular and just account of this matter, with some good reflections ; and he is the only Massachusetts historian who has stepped forth in the cause of toleration, before the revolution of America. No wonder a learned civilian should speak in favour of men who suffered such unrighteous judgment. The petitioners " prayed that civil liberty and freedom might be granted to all truly English ; and that the members of the Church of England and Scotland might be admitted to the privileges of the New-England churches ; or if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from heavy taxes imposed upon them, and the impresses
made

made upon their children and servants into the war ; and if they failed of redress here, they should be under the necessity of making application to England to the honourable houses of Parliament, who they hoped would take their sad case into consideration, provide able ministers for them, New-England having none such to spare, or else transport them to some other place, their estates being wasted, where they might live as Christians, &c. But if their prayer should be granted, they hoped to see the then contemned ordinances of God highly prized ; the gospel, then dark, break forth as the sun ; christian charity, then cold, wax warm ; jealousy of arbitrary government banished ; strife and contention abated ; and all business, in church and state, which for many years had gone back, successfully thriving," &c.

These petitioners were treated with severity, pointed at in the pulpits, and could obtain no redress during the times of the Commonwealth in England, or the Protectorate of Cromwell ; but when Charles the Second came to the throne, they obtained some triumph, and were able, in their turn, to show a spirit more like the wisdom of this world, than christian forbearance and forgiveness.

Before the platform of church discipline had been agreed upon, an attempt was made to introduce the Presbyterian government and discipline in one of the churches ; this was almost as opposite to the principles of our fathers as the Church of England. The church at Newbury was under the pastoral care of Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes, both of whom were inclined to Presbyterianism, which caused an assembly of ministers to sit at Cambridge. Cotton and Hooker were chosen moderators. " The assembly concluded against some part of the Presbyterian way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments," &c.

The churches had rest for some years after ; having been much disturbed by the religious controversies which divided the Old Church in Boston, and made so many ministers in the Bay at variance with each other. Mr. Wheelwright wrote a letter which contained an acknowledgment of his offence, and the Court desired the Gover-

nor to write to him, that he was released from his banishment, and was permitted to come to Boston.

In this early age of New-England, we have seen different sects arise ; each found adherents, and gave no small disturbance to the plantation. In a book called the Wonder-working Providences, they are thus summed :

1. *Gortonists* ; who denied the humanity of Christ.
2. *Papists*.
3. *Familists* ; who depend upon rare revelations.
4. *Seekers* ; who deny the word and ordinances.
5. *Antinomians* ; who deny the moral law to be the rule of Christ.
6. *Anabaptists* ; who deny civil government to be proved of Christ.
7. The Prelacy.

In the year 1646 was the second synod at Cambridge. This year also was a body of laws composed ; and that they might be agreeable to the scriptures, there were appointed in every county two magistrates, two ministers, and two able persons among the people ; these were confirmed by the General Court in 1648.

MEMOIR OF PARMENIUS.

STEPHEN PARMENIUS, the author of the following POEM, was born, about the middle of the sixteenth century, at Buda, the capital of Hungary, at that time in possession of the Turks. His genius probably procured him patronage ; for some literary men in Hungary assisted him to a liberal education. For its completion, he visited the European universities. During his residence in England, he was singularly pleased with the people, the government, and the country ; the flattering attentions of the literati of London contributing, doubtless, to this partiality. Here he became acquainted with Mr. RICHARD HAKLUYT, the celebrated author of Voyages and Discoveries of the English nation, who introduced him to Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, at the very time when he was preparing to embark with a colony for America. Delighted with this gentleman, and with his enterprize, he celebrated both in this poem. At the time of composing it, in

March, 1583, he had no intention, it seems,* of coming to America. He, however, did actually embark with Sir H. Gilbert and the English adventurers, on the 11th of June, the same year. Expecting that great discoveries would be made, or great actions performed, by this colony, he intended to compose a history of them in the Latin language, which he wrote with great elegance. The admiral, however, made but a very short stay in America; and did nothing more, than take possession of Newfoundland for queen Elizabeth. Returning to England, he was lost in a violent storm, on the 9th of September, and with him the learned Hungarian. This catastrophe is thus related by Mr. Edward Haies, a gentleman, who was "principal actor in the same voyage," and "who alone continued unto the end, and by God's speciall assistance, returned home with his retinue safe and entire":—"This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæius, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests† and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."‡—Beside this poem, I find no composition of Parmenius, excepting a letter in Latin, to Mr. Richard Hakluyt, dated at St. John's port, Newfoundland, August 6, 1583; which gives a brief account of the voyage from England, and of taking

* O mihi fœlicem si fas conscendere puppim !

See the Poem, from line 157 to 164.

† *Gests*, from the Latin *gesta* [*exploits*]. The same word is used in another part of this writer's account of the same voyage:—"as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered." *Hakluyt's Voyages*, I. 680; & III. 144.

‡ Ibid. I. 692; & III. 156.

taking possession of Newfoundland ; and a description of this island. §

To the Poem is prefixed a Preface, and both are here translated. In the translation, no freedom has been intentionally used with the original, excepting to deprive queen Elizabeth of her poetical divinity.* Poets and painters have great licence by prescription ; but it had a pagan origin, and Christians ought to contribute nothing toward perpetuating their idolatry. The classical reader of this poem will be too much entertained with the elegant original, to disquiet himself about any imperfection in the translation.

It seems but just, to say one word concerning the illustrious person, to whom the poem is addressed. Sir Humphrey Gilbert having procured an ample patent of queen Elizabeth,

§ Ill fated Poet ! the country furnished thee but a barren theme. The most fertile one was the cod fishery. “Nunc, narrandi erant mores, regiones, et populi. Cæterum quid narrem, mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video. Piscium inexhausta copia : inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onestus est.”—In the account of the climate, the facts of the historian form a very sober contrast to the description of the poet. || “Cælum hoc anni tempore ita fervidum est, ut nisi pisces, qui arseunt ad solem, assidui invertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles glaciæ in medio mari nos docuere.” *Letter to Mr. Hakluyt.* It is inserted entire in Hakluyt’s *Voyages*, I. 697—699 ; & III. 161—163.

* See lines 179th and 225th. Such impious compliments were frequent in the Augustan age. [See Virg. *Georg.* I. 24—42. Hor. *Carm. Lib. IV.* ode V. Lucan, *Lib. I.*] The classical writer is in great danger of the sin of deification.—*Æternum cupiunt* [line 204th.] are suffered to pass. The thought was, perhaps, borrowed from the *Thebaid* of Statius [*Lib. I.* 31—33], where Cæsar is thus addressed :

“Tuque
Æternum tibi Roma cupit.”

“Oh ! blest thy Rome with an eternal reign,
Nor let desiring worlds entreat in vain.” *Pope’s translation.*

Budæius was not alone. Buchanan, one of the purest and finest of modern writers, who was his contemporary, concludes a poem, addressed to Henry VIII.—which ascribes to that king all the virtues that he ever had, and some which he had not—with these lines :

“Hæc tua te virtus dis immortalibus æquum
Efficit, atque hominum supra fastigia tollit.”

|| See the Poem, line 299 to 303.

Elizabeth, in 1578, with full powers to undertake the discovery of the northern parts of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands, which were at that time unsettled by any Christian princes, or their subjects, he sailed, not long after, to Newfoundland. After continuing here a short time, he was compelled, by adverse occurrences, to return to England. Not discouraged, however, by this disappointment, he prosecuted the design with steady and resolute perseverance. The queen was so well pleased with his conduct, that she gave him, as a mark of her peculiar favour, an emblematical jewel, being a small anchor of beaten gold, with a large pearl at the peak, which he wore ever after at his breast. He and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh* were the parents of the English plantations in America, and laid the foundation of the trade and naval power of Great-Britain. Sir Walter Raleigh was a joint adventurer with his brother, and, the very year in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished, took out a new patent for the same purposes, and of the like tenure with that of Sir Humphrey ; upon which he immediately proceeded, and sent a colony at his own expence, to settle on the American continent. This opened the way to the settlement of Virginia.—“ As to the person of this brave and wise man [Gilbert], it was such as recommended him to esteem and veneration at first sight ; his stature was beyond the ordinary size ; his complexion sanguine ; and his constitution very robust.” In the British Biography, he is highly celebrated for courage and prudence ; for genius and learning ; for eloquence and patriotism ; and for the estimable virtues of private life. “ His life and death were a continual commentary on his own generous maxim, *That he is not worthy to live at all, who for fear or danger of death shunneth his country’s service, or his own honour ; since death is inevitable, and the same of virtue immortal.*”†

A. H.

* After the death of Sir H. Gilbert’s father, his mother married Walter Raleigh of Fardel, Esquire ; and by him was the mother of the famous Sir Walter Raleigh.

† See Hakluyt’s Voyages, III. 135—162. Biographia Britannica, Art. Gilbert ; and Belknap’s American Biography, I. 196—205.

NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE POEM.

Line 75—82. Dacis—inhabitants of Transylvania, &c., “Dacia, regio Scythiæ Europææ quæ ad Septentrionem Carpato monte è Sarmatia dividitur. Dacia hodie divisa est in Transsylvaniam,” &c.

Æmathiis—Æmathia was the ancient name of Macedonia.

Hebrus, &c.—Thrace.

Pannoniæ—Pannonia was a part of Hungary. “Hungaria—Danubius medium interfluit, atque in partes nempe in citeriorem & ulteriorem scindit. Citerior est ea ubi olim Pannoniæ fuerunt. Hujus citerioris Hungariæ caput est Buda regni fedes.”

Liburnis—Liburnia is now called Slavonia. “Liburnia—quam hodie Slavoniam appellant.”

Sarmaticas gentes—Inhabitants of Poland, Russia, and Tartary. “Sarmatia—quem tractum hodie tenent, quos Polonos, Ruthenos, & Tartaros appellamus.”

Vide Caroli Stephani Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, &c. ; also the VIIth. Map in Blair’s Chronology, which gives the ancient names of these countries.

Line 113—115. Belgæ—Hibernia.—For the suppression of the Irish rebellion, Gilbert was raised to the rank of Colonel, which seems to have been, at that time, a title of supreme command ; for his troops consisted of 100 horse, 400 regular foot, and a certain number of that kind of Irish militia, distinguished by the name of Kerns. When he was sent over to Holland, to the assistance of the Dutch, he had the same title, and is reported to have been the first Englishman, who bore it in that service.

Biog. Britan. Art. Gilbert.

Line 120. Sequana was the ancient name of the river Seine in France. “Sequana—Lutetiam Parisiorum mediam interfecans, unàque cum Matrona Belgas à Celtis dividens.” See *Stephan. Diction. & Blair, ut supra.*

Line

Line 127. Aucheriam—The wife of Sir H. Gilbert. He married, from the court of queen Elizabeth, a lady of distinguished birth and fortune, Ann, the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent,* who, with his son, behaved in the noble manner, described by the poet, at the reduction of Calais by the French, in 1558.

Line 163. Istri, &c.—The wars of Germany. Ister was formerly the name of the Danube.

Lines 237, 238. New Albion was discovered by Sir Francis Drake in 1578; and the principal king of the country invested him with his principality.

Line 272. Sir Hugh Willoughby, on a voyage for the discovery of a passage to India by the North West, having proceeded to 72°. north latitude, perished, with all his mariners, in 1554.

Line 276. Sir Martin Frobisher made three voyages to the north, for the same discovery, in 1576, 1577, and 1578. In translating the 277th. and 278th. lines, regard was had to Forster's account of these voyages. In a part of Greenland, discovered by Frobisher, "in hard winters, masses of ice, of an astonishing size, are generated by the mountains of snow, which are blown down from off the high rocks, and in the spring, in consequence of the thaws, of heavy rains, and of the sea water dashing upon them, are converted into ice."

See Forster's Voyages. 277, 278.

Line 281. Sir Anthony Jenkinson made his last voyage to Russia in 1571. For a proof and illustration of his wonderful enterprises in the East, see *Hakluyt's Voyages*, I. 426—436. See also *Camdeni Rerum Anglic. et Hib. Annales*, regn. Eliz. 126, 155.

Line 284. Sir Francis Drake commenced his voyage round the world in 1577, and completed it in 1580.

Line 297. John and Sebastian Cabot discovered the continent of North-America in 1497. More than sixty

* Biog. Brit. Art. Gilbert.

years elapsed, however, before the English availed themselves of this discovery. This remarkable neglect historians ascribe to the frugal maxims of Henry VII. and the unpropitious circumstances of the reigns of Henry VIII. of Edward VI. and of the bigoted Mary ; reigns peculiarly adverse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation. The honour of commencing the colonization of North-America was reserved for the vigorous and splendid reign of queen Elizabeth.

DE NAVIGATIONE ILLUSTRIS & MAGNANIMI EQUITIS
 AURATI HUMFREDI GILBERTI, AD DEDUCENDAM IN NO-
 VUM ORBEM COLONIAM, SUSCEPTA, CARMEN EPIGRAMMATICUM
 STEPHANI PARMENII BUDÆII.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem auctoris præfatio.

REDDENDA est, quàm fieri potest brevissimè, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo novus & exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putaverim : ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, foetum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In servitute & barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam ætatis partem educatus ; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ nostræ, tum imprimis salvæ adhuc earum reliquæ florescunt, in literis adolevissem, more nostrorum hominum, ad invisendas Christiani orbis Academies ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solum complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, jam fermè triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, ut non tantum mores & urbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introendum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, ut hoc à nobis sine invidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo potest) non locus, non natio, non respublica ulla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcumque in partem eventum

eventum consilii mei considerem. Accedit, quod præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis civibus, quibuscum aliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passim humanitate acceptus essem; ut jam (sit hoc salva pietate à me dictum) suavissimæ Anglorum amicitiae fermè abolerint desiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ob causas cum sæpenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ hujus voluntatis & existimationis edendi; accidit utique secundum sententiam, ut dum salutandis & cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus *Hakluytus* ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de ducenda propediem colonia in novum orbem instituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoscere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnovi profectò, eaque tali ac tanta observantia prosequi cæpi; ut cum paulò post plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus gestis passim audissem, tempus longè accommodatissimum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officii studiique nostri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfunderer. Hoc est primum ovum, unde nostrum *ἐπιβλητικὸν* originem ducit. Reliquum est, ut eas & redeas quàm prosperrimè, vir nobilissime, & benevolentia tua, autoritatè, ac nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis, 1583.

A POEM OF STEPHEN PARMENIUS OF BUDA, IN CELEBRATION OF THE VOYAGE OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND VALIANT KNIGHT, SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, UNDERTAKEN FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONDUCTING A COLONY TO THE NEW WORLD.

The Preface of the Author to that illustrious knight.

HERE, at the threshold, the reason of my attempt must be given as briefly as possible; and I must tell wherefore I, so great a stranger and a foreigner, in such a throng of literary characters, as that with which England is blest, should think of meddling with this subject; for it was you, most noble Gilbert, who chose that this my imperfect production

production should see the light. Born in Turkish servitude and barbarism, yet, through the great goodness of God, of Christian parents, and by them partly educated; afterward, by the aid of learned men, with whom Hungary then abounded, and even yet abounds so far as its reliques are preserved, having grown up in letters, I was sent, after the manner of my countrymen, to visit the universities in Christendom. In my travels, I not only beheld many seats of the muses, but also many wisely constituted republics, and admirably conducted churches; nearly three years being devoted to that object. This journey I so contrived, that I took care not merely to observe the manners and cities of different nations, but to obtain the familiar acquaintance, or at least, the knowledge of eminent men. But, to speak without envy (for it cannot be suppressed without malice), no place, no nation, no republic, pleased me equally in every respect, with your Britain. It so happened, that, beyond all my expectation, I was received every where by all your citizens, with whom I had the least familiarity, with such politeness, that already (let me say it without the violation of patriotism) the very delightful friendships of Englishmen have almost obliterated the love both of the Hungarians and of my Buda, to which I owe the name of country. When, for these reasons, I had often wished to give some expression of this my affection, it happened, according to my wish, that, while I was taking pains to pay my respects to the excellent men in London, and to become acquainted with them, my very accomplished and learned friend Richard Hakluyt introduced me to you, explaining to me, at the same time, your most noble design of shortly conducting a colony into the new world. In the mean time I could perceive, that that body and spirit of your's were worthy of the perpetual remembrance of posterity, and hence began to attend to them with such respect, that when, soon after, I every where heard more concerning your virtues and exploits, I thought it the most favourable time possible, to discharge some part of my duty, and to express somewhat of my regard, toward you and your nation. This is the primary origin of my poem. For

the rest, may you prosperously go and return, most noble sir, and secure my regard by your benevolence, authority, and renown. Farewell. March 31, 1583.

AD THAMESIN.

AMNIS, inoffensa qui tam requiete beatus
 Antipodum quæris jam tibi in orbe locum :
 Nunc tibi principium merita, pro tempore, laudis
 Fecimus, et rauca carmina prima tubæ.
 Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
 Ornatu perages gaudia festa novo.

TO THE THAMES.

RIVER, who, happy in thy harmless course,
 Seek'st thy antipodes in yon new world ;
 Thy meed of praise I now have scarce begun,
 And simply sounded the first trump of fame.
 When Argo thou restor'st, whom now we loose,
 Thy festal joys shall claim a nobler song.

QUÆ nova tam subitò mutati gratia cæli ?
 Unde graves nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras ?
 Diffugiunt nebulae, puroque nitentior ortu
 Illustrat terras, clementiaque æquora TITAN ?
 Nimirum posuere NOTI, meliorque resurgit
 EURUS, et in ventos solvuntur vela secundos,
 Vela quibus gentis decus immortale BRITANNÆ

WHAT wondrous favour this of alter'd heaven ?
 Whence do big storms dissolve to gentlest gales ?
 The clouds disperse, a brighter orient sun
 Illuminate the earth, and seas assuag'd ?
 The SOUTH WINDS, sure, are laid ; the better EAST 5
 Rises ; to prosperous winds are loos'd the sails,
 Sails, borne by which, GILBERT, BRITTANNIA'S pride,

Tendit ad ignotum nostris majoribus orbem
Vix notis GILBERTUS aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, et facta nepotum 10
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cæpta filendum est
Illa, quibus nostri priscis ætatibus audent
Conferri, et certare dies: quibus obvia plano
Jamdudum FORTUNA solo, quibus omne per undas
NEREIDUM genus exultat, faustoque tridenti 15
Ipse pater NEREUS placabile temperat æquor.
Et passim Oceano curvi Delphines ab imo
In fummos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga pararent
In quibus evectæ fulcent freta prospera puppes.
Et quasi diluvium, tempestatesque minatur 20
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela physeter.
Et favet ÆGÆON, et qui NEPTUNIA PROTEUS
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat
Sceptra CHALDONIDUM: seclis modò fata futuris 25
Pandit, et ad seros canit eventuram minores.

Goes to a new world, to our fires unknown,
On waters scarce explor'd. When shall we care
To sing heroic praises, and the deeds 10
To astonish future ages? If designs,
That, by our age achieved, with former times
Dare bold comparison, must not be sung:
Deeds now by FORTUNE favoured, deeds which all
The race of NEREIDS, on the Ocean's waves, 15
Exults to foster, while great NEREUS' self
With kindly trident smooths the yielding sea.
From Ocean's depths e'en the curved dolphins leap
On highest waves, as though with backs upreared
To bear the ships far o'er the prosperous seas;
And the dread whale a flood and tempests threats 20
With windy blasts against unfriendly sails.
Propitious is ÆGÆON, PROTEUS too,
Who NEPTUNE's herds feeds in the deeps below:
And he, who lately praised for ancient worth
The CALEDONIAN sceptre, now unfolds 25
To future ages fate's great destinies,
And sings to late descendants things to come.

Ut pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto
 Infula OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi ;
 Postquam opibus dives, populo numerosa frequenti,
 Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe ; 30
 Non incauta fui, ne quando immensa potestas
 Pondere sit ruitura suo, nova mœnia natis
 Quærat, et in longum extendat sua regna recessum :
 Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis sublimibus aptæ
 In nidis crevere grues, proficiscitur ingens 35
 De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILUM.

Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula soli
 Servata est regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.
 Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
 Margine, et audacem quarto dignata COLUMBUM ; 40
 Jam quintâ lustranda plagâ tibi, jamque regenda
 Imperio superest. EUROPAM ASIAMQUE relinque,
 Et fortunatam nimium, nisi sole propinquo
 Arderet, LYBYEN : illis sua facta viasque
 Terminet ALCIDES ; abs te illustranda quiescit 45
 Parte alia tellus, quam non BABYLONIA sceptrâ,

In the vast Ocean lifts her head erect
 Above the spacious earth a well known Isle,
 In peace and war far famed, pride of the world,
 ENGLAND, for wealth, for numbers, deeds, renown'd. 30
 Aware that time may come, when power immense
 By its own weight may fall, new walls she seeks,
 And stretches far, for her own sons, her realms :
 So when in nests storks firmly fledged have grown
 Fit for the lofty winds, in flocks they move 35
 Forth from our climate to the tepid Nile.

Hail, noble soul, thus long for thee alone
 A land is kept by tyrants never ruled,
 The earth, erst bounded by a triple line,
 And honouring bold COLUMBUS with a fourth ; 40
 Reserves her fifth for thee, and for thy sway.
 EUROPE and ASIA leave, and AFRIC's clime
 Too happy, but for burning suns ; ALCIDES
 Their deeds and bounds may fix : far hence remains
 For thy survey a land, which not the rod 45
 Of BABYLON, nor MACEDONIAN might,

Non MACEDUM invictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus
Attigit, aut unquam LATIÆ feriere secures.
Non illo soboles MAHOMETI mugit orbe :
Non vafer HISPANUS, coelo, superisque relictis, 50
Sacra PAPÆ humano crudelia sanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago ;
Sive illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à prisca FAUNORUM stirpe superfint
Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus urbes 55
Sylvæque et pingues habitant civilibus agros :
Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur
ITALIÆ antiquæ, et primi rude temporis ævum :
Cum genitor nati fugiens SATURNUS ob iram
In LATIO posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos 60
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
Aurea in hoc primum populo cæpisse feruntur
Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati ;
Ut simul argenti percurrrens tempora, et æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret ætas ; 65
Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum

Nor PERSIC bravery ever yet has reached,
Nor LATIAN axes yet have ever ruled.
Not there the sect of MAHOMET hath roared ;
Nor subtil SPANIARD, first his God renouncing, 50
Offered the HOLY FATHER human blood.
There mortals, and a race of men unknown,
Whether from our own lineage first they sprung,
Or of the stock of Faunus yet remain,
Derived from mother earth, cities possess, 55
Though lawless, and the woods and fertile fields.
Old manners they revive, the life pursue
Of ancient ITALY, and earliest time ;
When father SATURN, fleeing Jove's dread ire,
In Latium fixed his seat, and into towns 60
Brought from rude fields the subjects of his sway.
Here first, 'tis said, commenc'd the golden age,
And men thus learned to live a happy life ;
Yet still this age, at length to silver fallen,
And next to brass, to iron hard at last ; 65
Again to ancient gold, from which it sunk,

(Sic perhibent vates) ævo vertente rediret.
 Fallor, an est tempus, revolutoque orbe videntur
 Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes?
 Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus urbes 70
 Respicio, et passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
 Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LYBIAMQUE cruento
 Marte premi, domitaque jugum cervice subire:
 Jamque per EUROPÆ fines immane tribunal
 BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQUE, PELASGISQUE 75
 ÆMATHISQUE, omnique solo quod dividit HEBRUS,
 Et quondam bello invictis, nunc MARTE sinistro
 Angustos fines, parvamque tuentibus oram
 PANNONIÆ populis, et prisca in gente LIBURNIS.
 Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri 80
 Patribus AUSONIIS; ardere in bella, necesseque
 SARMATICAS gentes: et adhuc à cæde recenti
 HISPANUM sancto GALLUMQUE madere cruore.
 Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox
 Ingenio referunt ferrum, et si dicere ferro 85
 Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.

(So prophets tell) would finally revert.
 Mistake I, or is this the eventful time,
 When peaceful nations form this golden age?
 Yes, I mistake, if cities I behold, 70
 Shattered by force, and realms by tyrants torn;
 If ASIA, AFRIC, prest in bloody war
 By SARACENS, bend to the servile yoke;
 And through all EUROPE a barbarian power
 Is tremblingly ador'd, by DACIANS, GREEKS, 75
 ÆMATHIANS, and the realm that HEBRUS parts,
 PANNONIANS, once in war invincible,
 Now, sad reverse! guarding their small domains,
 And the LIBURNIANS, anciently renowned.
 Then too against high powers perpetual wars, 80
 Caus'd by AUSONIAN priests: SARMATIAN tribes
 Ardent for battle; and yet warm with slaughter,
 The GAUL and SPANIARD drenched in holy blood.
 These, these, no proofs of gold, they rather prove
 Atrocious iron, and, if worse than this 85
 Aught may be named, the stone intractable.

At verò ad niveos alia si parte BRITANNOS
 Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus,
 Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
 Namque quòd hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore 90
 Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta juventus
 Illius ad sacra iussa vices obit, arguit aurum.
 Quòd tam chara DEO tua sceptrā gubernet AMAZON,
 Quàm DEA, cum nondum cœlis ASTRÆA petitis
 Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum. 95
 Quòd colit haud ullis inclusas mœnibus urbes
 Aurea libertas, et nescia ferre tyrannum
 Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
 Quòd regio nullis injuria gentibus, arma
 Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete, 100
 Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
 Quòd gladii, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ
 In rastros abiere, et bello assueta juventus
 Pacem et amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
 Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes 105
 Æris, et in pacis venerari tempore fortes;

But if the eye and thought I hence advert
 To snow-white BRITONS; O thou loveliest land,
 What proofs resistless of thy life of gold!
 For, that the sovereign DEITY by thee 90
 Is worshipp'd as divine, and thy chaste youth
 Regard his sacred mandates, argues gold.
 That, dear to God, a queen thy sceptre sways,
 As if the goddess, yet not fled to heaven,
 ASTRÆA ruled o'er mortals, argues gold. 95
 That golden freedom unwall'd cities rears,
 And that the land, which tyrant never bore,
 Is ever safe, and tranquil, argues gold.
 That, to no nation's harm, a region here
 Bears arms, all reddened with the rust of peace, 100
 But arms to neighbours dreadful, argues gold.
 That swords, and darts, that javelins too, and spears,
 To ploughshares turn, and youths inured to war
 Seek peace and joys domestic, argues gold.
 In fine, if meet the praise of brass to blend 105
 With gold, and in mid peace to extol the brave,

Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
 Pectora? sint testes procerum tot millia, testes
 Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille
 Illa cui assurgunt MUSÆ, quam conscia PALLAS 110
 Lætior exaudit, GILBERTI gloria nostri.
 Illius auxilium, et socialia prælia amici
 Mirantur BELGÆ, et quamvis injustus IBERUS
 Commemorat justas acies, domitasque per oras
 Martia victrices formidat HIBERNIA turmas. 115
 Illum oppugnataë quassatis turribus arces,
 Illum expugnataë perruptis mænibus urbes,
 Fluminaque et portus capti, hostilique notatum
 Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.
 Hic ubi per medios projectus SEQUANA CELTAS 120
 Labitur, et nomen mox amissurus, et undas.
 Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis
 Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci
 Tam varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
 Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulcissima sacri 125
 Oscula conjugii, numerantemque ordine longo

What heroes born for war, what brazen hearts
 Thou rearest? Let the thousand chiefs attest,
 The thousand veterans, and mid them most famed
 Our GILBERT's glory, which the MUSES greet, 110
 And conscious PALLAS gladly deigns to hear.
 His aid, and federate battles, BELGIC friends
 Admire, and the IBERIAN, though unjust,
 Praises his arms; and, through her subject coasts,
 Martial HIBERNIA dreads his conquering bands. 115
 Him battered castles, with their shaken towers,
 Him cities, gained by storm, with broken walls,
 And streams, and captured ports, full well have known,
 And fleets submerg'd beneath the briny deep:
 Here, where SEQUANA, pouring through the CELTS, 120
 Glides, soon to lose at once his name, and waves.
 Were all things wanting, yet how great the emprise
 To brave, for human peace and weal alone,
 Chances so great, such seas, such perils dire?
 To leave a tender offspring, and the sweets 125
 Of wedlock, and Aucheria numbering o'er

AUCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
AUCHERIOS exempla suos, fratremque patremque ;
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem et virtute sequuntur, 130
Obsessi in muris soli portisque CALETI,
Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus urbem,
Et decus ALBIONUM, turpi superesse salute.

Quòd si parva loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est
Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens vivere mundo, 135
Quid vetat ignotis ut possit surgere terris ?
Auguror, et favet dictis DEUS, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in urbes
Barbara plebs coëat quàm cum nova saxa vocaret
AMPHION THEBAS, TROJANA ad mænia PHOEBUS. 140
Atque ubi sic ultrò junctas sociaverit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges custoditurus easdem ;
In quibus ignari cives fraudumque, dolique,
A solida affuescant potius virtute beari ;
Quàm genio et molli liquentiâ corpora vita 145
In Venerem ignavam, pinguemque immergere luxum :

In long array, the dangers of the seas,
And, midst a few examples, her own kin
AUCHERIAN, both her brother and her sire,
Who, in their country's cause, for virtuous praise, 130
Alone besieg'd in CALAIS' walls and gates,
Would rather die, than basely live with those,
Who, with the city, Albion's fame betrayed.

But, if small things I tell, nor yet confess
A golden race within our world revives, 135
What hinders it to rise in lands unknown ?
I augur, HEAVEN fulfil ! I augur years,
When, under this their chief, the barbarous throng
Shall into cities crowd, as when of old
AMPHION call'd to THEBES the rugged stones ; 140
Or PHOEBUS, to the lofty walls of TROY.
When he shall thus the social compact form,
Laws he shall give, laws which himself shall guard ;
By these the citizens, in frauds unskilled,
May learn from virtue to derive their bliss,
Rather than seek it in voluptuous ease, 145

Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
 Vivere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.
 Non illic generi virtus, opibusque premetur
 Libertas populi, non contra in deside vulgo 150
 Oppugnabit opes civis sub nomine pauper :
 Quisque suo partem fælix in jure capeffet.
 Tum sua magna parens ingenti fænore tellus
 Exiguo sudore dabit bona : cura juventam
 Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet, 155
 Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda cives.
 O mihi fælicem si fas conscendere puppim :
 Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignosce) relicta
 Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
 Mecum unâ AONIAS, illic exordia gentis 160
 Prima novæ ad feros transmittere posse nepotes !
 Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ
 Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miserabilis ISTRÎ
 Invitum retrahunt. His his me fata reservent :

And riot in the luxuries of life ;
 Rather than gain pursue, and for renown
 Live at the will of a capricious mob.
 There virtue ne'er shall be by birth oppress'd,
 Nor by enormous wealth the people's freedom ; 150
 Nor yet in vulgar sloth, affecting rights,
 The wretch invade by force his neighbour's wealth ;
 Each happy shall his own by right enjoy.
 Then parent earth with rich increase shall yield
 Her products without pains : no care shall drive 155
 Youth to old age ; nor toil so banish ease,
 But that from virtue men shall seek their boon.
 O might I in the happy ship embark,
 And (Piety forgive !), my country left,
 The distant sea explore, and in my train
 The AONIAN sisters, there the earliest rise 160
 Of a new nation might I but convey
 In song heroic down to latest time !
 But me the fates forbid, and, tuned to sing
 Great deeds in verse sonorous, back recall,
 Reluctant, to the wretched ISTRIAN wars.
 For these, for these, me destiny reserves :

Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe 165
Aut veteres populos, aut nostra incognita cœlo
Munera naturæ; dum spreto *HELICONE* manebit
Illa *AGANIPPÆIS* sacrata *OXONIA* Musis.

Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine *Nymphæ*,
Impediuntque comas lauro, et florentis olivæ 170
Frondebis armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immensi longè venerantur *ELISAM*.
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem
Prospicit, et jamjam *TAMESINO* in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis *GILEBERTUM* albescere velis. 175
Sic dea *Peliaco* spectasse è vertice *PALLAS*
Fertur *Iasonios* comites, ad *PHASIDOS* undas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.
DIVA fave, nutuque tuo suscepta parari
Vela juva; si sola geris dignissima totum 180
Talibus auspiciis proferri sceptrum per orbem.
Propterea quia sola tuos ita pace beasti
Tranquilla populos, ut jam te principe possint

But ne'er shall be a poet wanting, who, 165
In that new world, may ancient people sing,
Or nature's blessings, to our sky unknown;
While, *HELICON* disdained, *OXFORD* remains
To *AGANIPPÆAN* Muses consecrate.

While I yet speak, Nymphs on the verdant grass
Haste, and with laurel their fair locks entwine, 170
Their brows with never fading olive deck,
And in thick bands extol *ELIZA*'s name,
The mighty empress of the boundless deep.
She from the lofty turrets looks the while
To the cold stream, and in old *THAMES* beholds
GILBERT with sails flow whitening to the view. 175
Thus erst the goddess *PALLAS* viewed from heaven
The band of *Jason* at fath'd *COLCHIS*' waves,
Unfurl their canvases to the untried winds.
Great *QUEEN*, be thou propitious, aid the sails
By thy own patronage thus far prepared;
Since thou a sceptre dost alone sustain 180
Worthy, with omens such, to rule the world.
As thou alone hast Britons blest with peace,
Let them beneath thy princely sway have power

Augere imperii fines. Quia sola videris
 Quo niveæ CHARITES, quo corpore DELIA virgo 185
 Pingitur, et iusto si sit pro teste vetustas.
 Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
 SEMIDEOS homines : tali est de sanguine magnus
 Sive HECTOR genitus, sive HECTORE major ACHILLES :
 Duntaxat sine fraude ulla, sine crimine possint 190
 Ulla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
 Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,
 NYMPHA, diis dignas laudes æquare LATINIS.
 Mentior infælix, nisi sic in corpore virtus
 Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est 195
 Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
 Mentior, et taceo, nisi sola audiris ubique
 Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter et omnes
 Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus :
 Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi 200
 Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
 Terrificis monstris furtiva per ocia somno.

To stretch the bounds of empire. Thou alone
 Seem'st like the snow white GRACES, or the form 185
 In which, if ancient story claim belief,
 The DELIAN virgin is exactly drawn.
 Once, we are told, from matrons such as these
 Sprung DEMIGODS : from blood like this great HECTOR,
 Or famed ACHILLES, greater still than he.
 Yet without fraud, or crime, let any names 190
 Of ancient matrons be compared with thee,
 Who in great deeds thy sex surpass'est, who,
 O NYMPH, darest rival even LATIAN fires,
 And claim renown, full worthy of their gods.
 Hapless I err, unless in a fair form 195
 Shines virtue, as the gem, worth more than gold,
 Is set in gold, that yet alike will please.
 I err, and own my fault, unless alone
 Thou art of potentates the fear, or love,
 And, midst all hazards, safely hast repose :
 While other princes, as in prison pent, 200
 Partake their dainties charged with deadly fear,
 And sleep, at furtive moments, terror filled.

Mentior et taceo, solam nisi vivere cives
Æternum cupiunt : quando nec verbere torvo,
Nec cædis pœnæve thronum formidine firmas : 205
Sed tibi tot meritis majestas parta, et inermis
Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes ;
Ut quot penè rei justum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod justumque piumque 210
Agnoscit probitas, et quæ potes omnia, solis
Legibus usurpas cautas sanctissima vires.
Nec mala formidas : si quidem quasi fune ligatur
Consilio fortuna tibi : Nullum impia terret
In castris BELLONA tuis : Quin pronus adorat 215
GRADIVUS tua jussa pater, sequiturque vocantem
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.
Dumque fores aliis, vitamque et regna tuetur
Janitor externus, cingunt tua limina cives :
Dumque aliis sordet sapientia regibus, almo 220
PEGASIDUM tu fonte satur, tot APOLLINIS artes

I err, and own my fault, unless thy subjects
Wish thou mayst live forever ; since thy throne
Thou strengthenest not by sanguinary dread ; 205
But merit gains thee power, and Clemency
Sits guardian at the open gates, unarmed :
And numbers of the guilty, justly doomed,
Their pardon grateful to the world proclaim.
But nought, save that which probity approves 210
As just and pious, thy indulgence gains ;
And thou, who hast all power, with sacred heed,
Drawest all thy vigour from the laws alone.
Nor evil fear'st thou : fortune to thy prudence
Is close allied : BELLONA in thy camps 215
Impious scares none : Prostrate her father MARS
Reveres thy mandates, and where'er thou mov'st,
Victory, with glad applause, thy steps pursues.
While foreign guards at other palace doors
Heedful their monarch's life and realm protect,
Thy threshold thy own citizens surround :
And while to other kings wisdom imparts 220
A niggard portion, thou, at the fair fount

Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.
 Nil nostri invenere dies, nil prisca vetustas
 Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
 CHRISTIADUM gentes, quas te, divina virago, 225
 Justius AONIÆ possint jactare sorores.
 Audiit hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet
 Imperio parêre tuo : et quæ fortè recusat
 Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptrâ
 Incurva MAHOMETIGENÆ cervice salutant : 230
 Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera GALLI :
 Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus IBERUS,
 Nescia ROMANO GERMANIA Marte domari
 Quærit amicitias BRITONUM : procul oscula mittit
 Virgineis pedibus LATIUM, longèque remoti 235
 PANNONES in tutos optant coalescere fines.
 Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper
 Obtulit invictis fascesque fidemque BRITANNIS,
 Nonne vides passis ut crinibus horrida dudum
 Porrigit ingentem lugubris AMERICA dextram ? 240

PEGASIAN fill'd, pour'ſt from prophetic tongue
 Arts APPOLLONEAN as in golden streams.
 Nought have our days discovered, nought past time
 Produc'd, the CHRISTIAN nations in no tongues 225
 Commerce maintain, which, noble heroine,
 The AONIAN band may better boast than thee.
 This knows the world, and in all regions longs
 To obey thy empire ; and what land perchance
 Denies, admires, thy power. Thy sceptre hence
 With neck unbent the SARACENS salute : 230
 Hence warring FRENCHMEN hasten to thy leagues :
 And while the SPANIARD dreads thy oft felt force,
 GERMANIA, loth to yield to ROMAN power
 Seeks BRITAIN'S friendship : distant LATIUM sends
 Kisses for virgin feet ; and, far remote, 235
 PANNONIANS wish within safe bounds to press.
 Yea more : Seest thou not how, with lowly crown,
 AMERICA, who late her faith hath pledged,
 And feälty, to BRITONS unsubdued,
 Even now, all horrid with dishevelled hair,
 Mournful to thee her huge right hand extends ? 240

Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, foror ANGLIA, nostras
Respicias, et dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis ?

An vero nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus ? postquam insatiabilis auri,

Nam certè non ullus amor virtutis IBEROS

245

In nostrum migrare solum, pietasve coëgit.

Ex illo, quæ sacra prius væfana litabam

Manibus infernis, sperans meliora, tuumque

Discere posse DEUM, jubeor mortalibus aras

Erigere, et mutas statuas truncoſque precata

250

Nescio quod demens ROMANUM numen adoro.

Cur trahor in terras ? si mens est lucida, puris

Cur DEUS in cœlis rectâ non quæritur ? aut si

A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus

Ignem, famem, ferro subigi, quocumque reatu

255

Oenotriæ sedis majestas læsa labascit ?

Non sic religio, non sic me iudice gaudet

Defendi sua regna DEUS, quod si optimus ille est ;

Quod si cuncta potest, et nullis indiget armis.

ENGLAND, my sister, dost thou nought regard

Our tears, she cries, nor groanest at our lot ?

Canst thou a stranger be to those drear times

Deathful we pass'd ? since the insatiate love

Of gold, for sure not love of virtue, urged,

245

Or piety, the SPANIARDS to our soil.

Since I the magic rites have ceas'd to pay

To powers infernal, hoping better things,

Hoping thy GOD to learn, I am required

Altars to raise to mortals, and entreating

Dumb stocks and statues I, infatuate,

250

Some Roman god, I know not what, adore.

Why am I dragg'd to earth ? If pure the mind,

Why is not GOD directly sought in heaven ?

Or if heaven right we seek, why do we see

Oppressions caused by famine, fire, and sword ;

255

Whene'er a crime offends the Papal throne ?

Not thus religion, not thus GOD delights,

If right I judge, his kingdom to defend,

If of all beings he indeed is best ;

Or if omnipotent, he needs not arms.

Mitto queri cædes, exhaustaque mœnia bello : 260
 Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora servos
 Abjecta, immanique jugum Busrilde dignum.
 Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus :
 Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus urbes,
 Ut nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur 265
 Ædes aëriæ ; quanquam latissima, desit
 Terra tamen populo : Si tot tua flumina nigrant
 Turrigeras arces imitatae mole carinæ,
 Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
 Si tibi jam sub sole jacens penetratus utroque est 270
 Mundus, utroque jacens peragrata est terra sub axe.
 Ni frustra gelidam vectus WILLOBEIUS ad arcton
 Illa in gente jacet, cui dum sol circinat umbras,
 Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.
 Ni frustra quæsit iter, duraque bipenni 275
 Illo FROBISERUS reditum sibi in æquore fecit,
 Horridum ubi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni
 Frigora nativos simulant inmitia montes.

I pass by slaughters, and towns drained by war : 260
 I pass by numerous freemen turned to slaves,
 And a hard yoke worthy Busiris dire.
 Thee let thy fortune, thee thy valour rouse,
 Since now thy cities are so closely filled,
 That, if not upward built, and airy seats 265
 Threaten the sky ; the earth, however broad,
 For people would be scant : Since all thy streams
 By ships are darkened, ships, like lofty towers,
 More numerous than the swans, those streams that swim.
 Since in both hemispheres there lies a world 270
 By thee explored, and regions now remain
 Survey'd already underneath each pole.
 Unless in vain, borne to the frozen north,
 WILLOUGHBY lies, where, measuring the shades,
 The sun scarce sets entire for half the year.
 Unless in vain hath FROBISHER his course 275
 Distant pursued, and with the hardy steel
 His passage opened back, in yonder sea,
 Where is perpetual horror, and where snows
 From mountains hardened by perennial ice.

Ni frustrà per CIMMERIOS, sylvisque propinqua
Flumina RIPHÆIS eoa profectus ad usque est 280
Mœnia JENCISONUS, PERSASQUE et proxima PERSIS
BACTRA, et BACTRORUM confines regibus INDOS.
Ni frustrà, quod mortali tot secla negarant,
Hâc tuus immensum nuper DRACUS ambiit orbem,
Quà patri OCEANO clausas circumdare terras 285
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, et duplici secludere littore mundos.
Jam si fortuna, jam si virtute sequare
Digna tua ; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum
Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub HERCULE non sit 290
Dedecus, OGIGIUS non quæ aspernetur IACCUS.
Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Aversare meos multo ut tibi sanguine fines
Invidiosa petas : est nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in ISTHMO. 295
Hanc tibi jamdudum primi invenere BRITANNI,

Unless in vain hath JENKINSON advanced
Through the CIMMERII, and the rivers near 280
RIPHÆAN forests, even to eastern walls,
To PERSIA, and to BACTRIA, PERSIA nigh,
And INDIA, bordering on the BACTRIAN realms.
Unless in vain, what numerous ages past
To mortal had denied, of late thy DRAKE
The world immense hath compass'd, where heaven gave 285
A passage to old Ocean to surround
The enclosed lands, and midway pass the earth,
And by a double shore to part the world.
If deeds worthy thy fortune thou pursue,
Worthy thy valour ; know that I have monsters,
Vast forms of giants, which 'twere no disgrace 290
Even had they fallen beneath great HERCULES,
And which OGYGIAN BACCHUS would not spurn.
But if thou deem'st these base, and, blest with peace,
Thou wouldst not for thyself my borders seek
At price of blood : near us a region lies,
And by an ISTHMUS only separate. 295
This first the BRITONS long since found for thee,
What time the valiant CABOT in our world,

Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione CABOTUS
 Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela COLUMBO.
 Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigescit ab areto,
 Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas : 300
 Frigus et æstatem justo moderamine servat,
 Sive leves auras, grati spiracula cæli,
 Seu diæ telluris opes, et numeræ cûras.
 Pone age te digno tua sceptra in honore, meoque
 Junge salutarem propius cum littore dextram. 305
 Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,
 Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere solem.
 Quodd si consiliis, superûm fatisque negatum est
 Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus :
 Quodd si de immerita justum est cervice revelli 310
 Ignarum imperii dominum, populique regendi ;
 Quodd si nulla unquam potuit superesse potestas,
 Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
 Obsequium. A miti quæsitæ potentia CYRO
 Amissa est sævæ soboli. Parcendo subegit 315
 Tot reges MACEDUM virtus, tot postera sensim

Next to the great COLUMBUS shew'd his sails.
 This neighbouring region neither chills with cold,
 Nor yet by heat to sterile sands is burnt : 300
 Just temperature it equably preserves,
 Whether the gentle airs, sweet breath of heaven,
 Or earth's best gifts and products are thy choice.
 Come, stretch thy sceptre where its regal sway
 Befits thine honour, and thy right hand join 305
 Kindly propitious to my distant shore.
 Through thee let me indulge some hope of rest,
 And a glad sun beam on thy neighbour's bliss.
 But the high counsels and decrees of Heaven
 Permit not mighty evils long to last :
 And just it is, that from the guiltless neck 310
 Be torn the tyrant lord unskill'd to rule ;
 Nor ever could an empire long endure,
 Where clemency paternal did not win
 To flexible reins obedience. That large power,
 By the mild CYRUS gained, was lost entire 315
 By his fierce offspring. Whatsoever kings
 By generous valour MACEDON subdued,

Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod ROMULEIS crevit sub patribus olim
Imperium, diri semper minuere NERONES.

319

All these succeeding rigour gradual
Cut off, at length, from the acquired realm.
That empire, too, reared by the ROMAN fires,
The barbarous NEROS rapidly reduced.

319

TO THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATIONS FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

EVERY document, which elucidates the numbers, characters, or condition, of any of the Indian tribes of North-America, at whatever period, is doubtless worthy of preservation. The entire extirpation of some tribes, and the gradual diminution of the rest, furnishes a subject of affecting contemplation to the man of feeling, and of curious investigation to the philosopher. I offer you, therefore, for the Collections of the Society, an account of the present number of the Mohegan tribe, situated between Norwich and New-London; a tribe once distinguished in the annals of New-England, but now so reduced, as easily to admit an enumeration of the individuals who compose it. On the authenticity and correctness of this account you may entirely rely; for, in passing through Mohegan, the last September, I obtained it of JAMES HAUGHTON, Esquire, one of the Overseers of this tribe, who lives within its limits. To this paper, which is exactly copied, I have nothing to add, respecting the *present* state of the Mohegans, but what that gentleman related to me: That the land belonging to these Indians, consists of about 2700 acres; that it was holden by them in common, till the year 1790, when it was divided to each family, by the legislature of Connecticut; that a convenient school house has been built for the benefit of their children, by the legislature; that John Cooper, the richest man in the tribe, possessing a yoke of oxen and two cows, was then their religious teacher; that there were not more than 80 persons of this tribe remaining; and that

that, with all their advantages for improvement in agriculture and other useful knowledge, they were still distinguished by the characteristic indolence, intemperance, and improvidence of Indians.

A. HOLMES.

Feb. 1, 1804.

THE FAMILIES OF THE TRIBE OF MOHEAGAN, AND NUMBER OF EACH FAMILY.

		[Brought up . . 39	
Henry Qurcurquid's family	2	Eunice Occom and her mother	2
Moses Mazzeen and Hannah Mazzeen	2	Joseph Shentup's family	4
Ezekiel Mazzeen's family	5	Joshua Shentup's family	5
John Tantequiggen's family	3	Henry Shentup's family	2
Martha Johnson	1	Moses Shentup's family	2
Lucy Toocomwos	1	Hannah Shentup & her daughter	2
Ifaiah Hofcoat's family	2	Martha Tantequiggen's family	4
Josiah Hofcoat & Anne Hofcoat	2	John Cooper's family	4
Robert Ashpo's* family	3	Jacob Cooper's family	2
Hannah Ashpo, Samuel's widow	1	John Cooper, jun.'s family	2
Andrew Ashpo's family	3	David Tantequiggen's children	2
Jenne Ashpo's family	3	Solomon Cooper's family	2
Noah Uncas's family	3	John George	1
Benoni Occom's† family	3	Eliz. Cooper, Sam's widow	1
Jonathan Occom	1	Great Lucy Cooper & her daughter	2
John Uncas	1	Simon Jorjoy	1
Hannah Uncas	1	Joshua Cooper's family	5
Elizabeth Uncas, John's widow	1	Joseph Johnson	1
Elizabeth Uncas, Samuel's widow	1	Anne Robins	1
39		84	

Indians belonging to Moheagan, in the year of our Lord 1799.

3 families of 5 each	-	-	15
3 of 4	-	-	12
6 of 3	-	-	18
13 of 2	-	-	26
13 single ones	-	-	13
			84

* One of this name and tribe, Samuel Ashpo, accompanied the Rev. Mr. Kirkland on his first mission into the Indian country. See Narrative of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon, 55, 56.

† The celebrated minister, Mr. Samson Occom, was a Moheagan of this family.

ADDITIONAL MEMOIR OF THE MOHEAGANS, AND OF
UNCAS, THEIR ANCIENT SACHEM.

IF the number of the Moheagans, at the time of the first settlement of New-England, has been recorded by any of the early historians, it is not now recollected. Some judgment may be formed of it from a remark in a State Paper, published by the Commissioners for the United Colonies in 1645, by which it appears, that Uncas, the Moheagan Sagamore, at the time of his great battle with Myantonomy, in 1643, had between four and five hundred warriors.* Supposing him to have had four hundred and fifty, and allowing the proportion of the warriors to the whole number of inhabitants to have been as three to ten, which was the proportion of the warriors to the whole number of inhabitants in the Powhatan confederacy, at the first settlement of Virginia ;† the whole number of Moheagans

* “ Myantonomy without any provocacon from Uncas (unlesse the disapoyntment of former plotts provoaked) and sodainely without denouncing warr, came upon the Mohegans *with nine hundred or a thousand men*, when Uncas *had not half so many* to defend himself.”

Hazard's Historical Collections, II. 47.

This account has the sanction of the commissioners ; for it is extracted from “ A Declaracon of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrohiggansets, with their confederates, wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing warr are opened and cleared.” Published by order of the Commissioners for the United Colonies at Boston, the sixth of the vith month, 1645.

See also Mather's *Magnalia*, VII. 44. Callender's *Century Sermon*, 72.

A MS. quoted by Dr. Trumbull, represents Miantonimoh (so the word is often spelt) as having 900, and Uncas 600 men. *History of Connecticut*, I. 131. But the Doctor does not insert this in the text.

† Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, under Query XI. Dr. Trumbull does not allow so great a number of warriors to the whole number of Indians in Connecticut. “ The Pequots, Moheagans, and Nehanticks could, doubtless, muster a thousand men. The Pequots only were estimated at seven hundred warriors. Upon the lowest computation we therefore find, at least three thousand warriors on the river Connecticut, and in the eastern part of the colony. If we reckon every third person a bowman, as some have imagined, then the whole number of Indians, in the town and tract mentioned, would be nine thousands ; but *if there were but one to four or five*, as is most probable, then there were twelve or fifteen thousands.” *Hist. Connect.* I. 29. This ratio would make the number of the Moheagans much larger, than I have computed, in the text.

Moheagans under Uncas must have been 1500. If we suppose Uncas to have had 500 warriors; his tribe, by the same ratio, must have contained nearly 1700 people.

In an account of the State of Connecticut, given by the General Assembly of that colony in 1680, in answer to inquiries of the lords of the committee of colonies, the "Indian neighbours of Connecticut" are estimated to be about 500 fighting men.* But what Indians, beside the Moheagans, might be included in this account, cannot probably, at this distance of time, be ascertained. In 1705, the Moheagans are said to have "consisted of a hundred and fifty warriors, one hundred of whom had been in the actual service of the country that very year."† It also appears, that there was about the same number of fighting men in 1725, within the memory of the late secretary Wylys of Connecticut.‡

In 1774, when a census of the inhabitants of Connecticut was taken, there were in that colony 1363 Indians. Among the answers returned, that year, by the governor and company, to the heads of inquiry, relative to the state and condition of Connecticut, the answer to Question XVII. [What number of Indians have you; and how are they inclined?] was, "There are thirteen hundred and sixty-three; many of them dwell in English families; the rest in small tribes in various places: they are in peace, good order, and inclined to idleness." By the "account of the number of inhabitants in the colony of Connecticut," taken in 1774, and published the same year by order of the General Assembly, it appears, that of the 1363 Indians in the colony, 842 were within the county of New-London. The return of Indians for that county is as follows:

* Chalmers' Annals, I. 307—310.

† Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, I. 448.

‡ President Stiles' MS. Itinerary.

TOWNS.	Indian Males under twenty.	Indian Females under twenty.	Indian Males above twenty.	Indian Females above twenty.	Total Indians.
Groton,	55	36	39	56	186
Lyme,	21	18	23	42	104
Killingworth,	6	2	4	2	14
NEW-LONDON,	64	48	35	59	206
Norwich,	16	14	11	20	61
Preston,	11	9	1	9	30
Saybrook,	3		1		4
Stonington,	73	80	28	56	237
	249	207	142	244	842

In this enumeration, Moheagan was doubtless included in the township of New-London. If all the Indians within this township be set to Moheagan, the entire number is but 206. The Indians at Moheagan, therefore, instead of constituting "the greater part," as it has been affirmed,* were not one sixth part of the whole number of Indians then in the colony.

The Pequot and Moheagan country lay to the south and east of the Nehanticks [in Lyme], from Connecticut river to the eastern boundary line of the colony, and north-east or north to its northern boundary line. This tract was nearly thirty miles square, and included the counties of New London, Windham, and the principal part of the county of Tolland.† Historians have treated of the Pequots and Moheagans as two distinct tribes; and have described the Pequot country as lying principally within the three towns of New-London, Groton, and Stonington. All the tract above this, as far north and east as has been described, they have represented as the Moheagan country. Most, if not all, of the towns in this tract hold their lands by virtue of deeds from Uncas, or his successors, the Moheagan sachems. Dr. Trumbull, however,

* Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 210.

† Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 28. His authorities are President Clap's MSS. and Chandler's map of the Moheagan country.

however, the accurate and judicious historian of Connecticut, thinks it very doubtful whether the Moheagans were a distinct nation from the Pequots. "They appear to have been a part of the same nation, named from the place of their situation."† On the conquest of the Pequots by the English, the Moheagans claimed most of the Pequot country as their hereditary right ; either on account of this affinity, or because that territory, which they claimed, had been wrested from them by the Pequots ; or, because Uncas their new sovereign, was originally a Pequot, and assisted too, in the conquest of the common enemy. When the Moheagan country was surveyed in 1705, a map of it was drawn, by which the boundaries were as follow : " From a large rock in Connecticut river, near eight mile island in the bounds of Lyme, eastward, through Lyme, New-London, and Groton, to Ah-yo-sup-suck, a pond in the north-eastern part of Stonington ; on the east, from this pond northward, to Mah-man-suck, another pond ; thence to Egunk-sank-a-poug, whetstone hills ; thence to Man-hum-squeeg, the whetstone country. From this boundary, the line ran south-west, a few miles, to Acquiunk, the upper falls in Quinibaug river. Thence the line ran a little north of west through Pomfret, Ashford, Willington, and Tolland, to Mo-she-nup-suck, the notch of the mountain, now known to be the notch in Bolton mountain. From thence the line ran southerly, through Bolton, Hebron, and East Haddam, to the first mentioned bounds." This, it appears, was the Pequot country, " to the whole of which," says Dr. Trumbull, " the Moheagans laid claim, after the conquest of the Pequot nation, except some part of New-London, Groton, and Stonington, which had been the chief seat of that warlike tribe. The Moheagans claimed this tract as their hereditary country ; and the Wabbequasset territory, which lay north of it, they claimed by virtue of conquest."*

The

† Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 28.

* Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 443, 444. The last mentioned territory was conquered from the Nipmuck Indians, whose principal seat was about the great ponds in Oxford, in Massachusetts ; but their territory

The occasion of this survey was, a claim brought forward, in 1704, by Owaneco, the son of Uncas, to certain lands in Connecticut. The Masons and others, on this occasion, preferred a petition and complaint to queen Anne, in favour of the Moheagan Indians. The Masons claimed the lands, purchased by their ancestor deputy governor John Mason, in virtue of a deed given to him by Uncas, in 1659, while he acted as agent of the colony; and denied the legality of his surrender of them to the colony, in the General Assembly, the next year. They insisted, that it respected nothing more than the jurisdiction right, and that the title to the soil was vested in their family, as guardians or overseers of the Indians. This celebrated "Moheagan Case" was kept in agitation nearly seventy years. It was always, on a legal hearing, determined in favour of the Colony. The final decision was by king George III. in council, just before the late revolutionary war.†

The Assembly of Connecticut, in 1722, confirmed a purchase, made six or seven years previously from the Moheagan Indians, upon the Moheagan hills, part of their reserved lands, to governor Saltonstall, major Livingston, Dennie, Rogers and Bradshaw. This was constituted the North Parish of New-London.*

UNCAS, whose name is still retained in the Moheagan tribe, though without any pre-eminence of rank or power, made a conspicuous figure in the early colonial annals. He was a uniform, and very important friend of the English, at the time of their first settlement in Connecticut, and for many subsequent years.† He was a Pequot, by birth, and of the royal line, both by his father and mother;

tory extended southwardly into Connecticut more than twenty miles. This was called, The Wabbequasset and Whetstone country; and sometimes, The Moheagan conquered country, as Uncas had conquered and added it to his sachenomdom. Trumbull, *ibid.* I. 31. His authorities are President Clap's MSS. and Chandler's Map of the Moheagan country.

† Trumbull's Hist. I. 434—449. * Douglass' Summary, II. 197.

† The Moheagans, while under Uncas, were sometimes insolent toward the English; but never, as a body, actually hostile. In 1647, these Indians, as well as the Narragansets, by new *insolencies*, obliged the English to demand satisfaction. Mather's *Magnalia*, VII. 45.

mother ; and his wife was a daughter of Tatobam, one of the Pequot sachems. He appears to have been a captain, or petty sachem, under Sassacus the great prince of the nation. When the English first came to Connecticut, he was in a state of rebellion against him, in consequence of some misunderstanding between them ; and his power and influence among the Indians were inconsiderable. Having revolted from his tribe, he had been expelled his country. § In these circumstances of degradation and infamy, it must have required no common enterprise and talents, to obtain the sovereignty of another tribe, and to fix the supreme power in his own family. Uncas, however, found means to effect these aspiring projects. He soon became the sagamore of the Moheagans ; and he transmitted the sovereignty of this tribe to his own descendants.

On the extermination of the Pequots in 1637, the English divided the miserable remnant of that devoted tribe between the Moheagans and the Narragansets ; and those of them, who fell to the lot of the Moheagans, became subject to the government of Uncas.* He seems, however,

§ Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 28, 449.

* Neal's New-England, I. 182. Chalmers' Annals, I. 291. Increase Mather's Troubles in New-England, by reason of the Indians, 39. The number of Pequots, who survived the famous Swamp Fight, was about 200, beside women and children. Of this number the English gave 80 to Miantonimoh ; 20 to Ninnigret ; and the other 100 to Uncas ; to be received and treated as their men. This division was made at Hartford in September 1638 ; at which time, among other articles, it was covenanted, That the Pequots should never more inhabit their native country, nor be called Pequots, but Narragansets, and Moheagans. *Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 87.*

Ninnigret was one of the two chief sachems of the Narraganset Indians, and was at the head of the Nianticks. His principal seat was at Westerly, which formerly belonged to Stonington, but is now a town in Rhode-Island. By refusing to join the other Narraganset Indians, in king Phillip's war, he preserved his lands for his posterity. A few Indians of his tribe were living on these lands, when Mr. Callender preached his Century Discourse, in 1738. Few, if any, of the Narragansets were at that time remaining in Rhode-Island Colony. " They do now," says this writer, " in a manner cease to be a people." *Callender's Century Discourse*, 78. Trumbull's Hist. Conn. I. 360. I find, in President Stiles's Itinerary, an anecdote about Ninnigret, which is inserted

ever, to have swayed the sceptre with a heavy hand ; for the Pequots withdrew themselves from his dominion, and the Commissioners found it necessary, in one instance to fine him,[†] and repeatedly to admonish him, for his tyranny. §

He was a resolute and brave warrior ; and, if oppressive to his subjects, he was proportionably formidable to his enemies. On the murder of one of his principal Indians, by some of the men of Sequassen, a sachem on Connecticut river, he demanded satisfaction of that chief. It was refused. Uncas and Sequassen fought. Sequassen was overcome. Uncas killed a number of his men, and burned his wigwams.

serted here, because illustrative of the Indian customs. Ninnegret married a Pequot, of high blood. Awaking, one night, after intoxication, and finding his sunck [queen] lying near another Indian, he, in a fit of jealousy, took his knife, and cut three strokes on each of her cheeks, in derision for adultery, and sent her home to the Pequots. This appears to have been the Indian mark of infamy, for unfaithfulness to the marriage bed, if a woman were of royal blood. This stigma on the wife of Ninnegret took place about 45 years before Dr. Stiles was informed of it in 1761. A lady told him that she had often seen Ninnigret's squaw with those marks of her divorce.

† Hazard's Collect. II. 93. The fine was 100 fathoms of wampam. § Ibid. II. 89—91. Obachickquid one of the chief men of the Pequots, in 1647, complained to the Commissioners, that Uncas had taken away his wife. They generally, at that time, complained, that he was unjust and tyrannical ; that he drew wampam from them from time to time on new pretences ; that, in their play, if a Pequot won of a Moheagan, he could not get payment if he complained ; that " Uncas carried it partially to the Moheagans, and threatened the Pequots." See the complaints of the Pequots, and the orders of the Commissioners entire, *ibid.*—The Commissioners ordered, that Uncas should restore Obachickquid his wife, and " that he be duly reprov'd for any passage of tyrannicall government over the Pequatts, soe far as they may be proved, and seriously enformed that the English Colonies cannot own or protect him in any unlawful much lesse treacherous and outrageous courses, but they are not so far satisfi'd in those Pequatt complain'ts as to justify their disorderly withdrawinge." *Ibid.* Two years afterward (1649) the Complaints of the Pequots being again brought before the commissioners, they required Foxon, " who wayted at their meeting on the behalfe of Uncas," to signify, " that it is the mind of the English, that hee carry himself towards them in a loving way, and doe not tyrannise over them. *Ibid.* 131, 132. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 186, 187. In 1654, it was ordered, that all the Pequots, licens'd in 1647 " to sett downe at Pequatt, may yet continew there, under the obeidience of Uncas." *Ibid.* 326.

wigwams. [Trumbull's Hist. Con. I. 129. Winthrop's Journal.] His challenge to the Narraganset sachem to a single combat, shews his bravery and patriotism. Christian duellists (what a solecism!) have no just pretensions to the honour, or even to the humanity, of this Pagan chief.*

Uncas, with his Moheagans, assisted the English in their grand expedition against the Pequots, in 1637. So terrible was the name of Sassacus, the Pequot sachem, and so desperate the valour of his tribe, that most of the Narragansets (who were also auxiliaries to the English in that expedition), on approaching the Indian forts, fled, and returned home. The Moheagans were intimidated; but Uncas animated them to battle, and they staid to witness, and to aid, the catastrophe of that eventful day.†

Uncas appears to have pushed his conquests in different directions, beyond the river Connecticut. About the year 1654, he had a quarrel with Arrhamámet, sachem of Mus-sáuco [Simsbury], which brought on a war. Uncas sent one of his warriors, to take and burn an out wigwam in the

* "Uncas before the battaile [see the first note in this *Memoir*] tould Myantenomy, that hee had many wayes sought his life; and for the spareing of blood offered by a single combatt betwixt themselves to end the quarrell: but Myantenomy presuming upon the number of his men, would have nothing but a battell; the yssue fell contrary to his expectation, his men were routed, divers of his considerable men slayne, and himself taken prisoner." Uncas, soon after, by the advice of the Commissioners for the colonies, cut off Myantenomy's head.

Haz. Coll. II. 9, 47, where are the reasons of the advice. Winthrop's Journal, 305, 306. Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars, 45. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 132—135.

† Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 71—78.

"The dreadful sound of great Sasācus name," fills the Indians with such terror,

"That suddenly they run, and seek to hide,
Swifter than leaves in the autumnal tide.
The Narragansetts quit the service clear,
But the Moheagans followed in the rear."

Gov. Wolcott's Poem, in *Coll. of Hist. Soc.* IV. 281.

The Narragansets said, "Sassacus is all one God; no man can kill him." Trumbull's Hist. I. 31.

When the English first arrived, Sassacus had under him 26 sachems, or principal war captains. The Pequots, at that time, were estimated at 700 warriors. Their chief places of residence were New-London and Groton. New-London was called Pequot. Trumbull, *ibid.* 28, 29.

the night, kill and burn, and leave the marks of Mohawks. His orders were executed. Arrhamamet ascribed the mischief to the Mohawks, and went in search of them to the north-west. Uncas gained time to equip his men; and afterward subjugated Arrhamamet. Podunk, ever after, was tributary to Uncas.* We shall presently find that he, thirteen years before this period, granted lands to the English in the southern part of the State, far beyond the river.

The name of Uncas often occurs, in the conveyance of lands in Connecticut, and in various compacts between the Indians and the English. In 1638, articles of agreement were made at Hartford between Uncas and the English people of Connecticut.† In 1640, Uncas, on receiving presents to his satisfaction, "by his certain writing," granted to the governor and magistrates of the English on Connecticut river all his lands, called by whatever name, to dispose of as their own, reserving only the ground then planted by him for himself and the Moheagans.‡ In 1641, he granted to Henry Whitfield, William Leet and others, certain lands "east of the East River" [somewhere near Guilford], "in consideration of 4 coats, 2 kettles, 4 fathoms of wampum, 4 hatchets, and 3 hoes."§ In 1659, "Uncas and Wawequay, sachems of Moheagan," granted all their lands, with all their corn, &c. to major John Mason, who, the next year, surrendered it to the colony of Connecticut.||

Uncas was very inimical to the Christian religion. Gookin, the Indian historian, informs us, that when he was at Wabquisset, with Mr. Eliot the Indian apostle, in 1674, Uncas, by an agent, claimed this place, and remonstrated against their attempts to christianize its inhabitants.

* President Stiles's Itinerary. Podunk was in the neighbourhood of Hartford. See Coll. of Hist. Soc. V. 167—170; & Trumbull, I. 27.

† Gov. Trumbull's MS. "State and Origin of Connecticut," in the Historical Society. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 424.

‡ Gov. Trumbull's MS. and Trumbull's Hist. I. 115. Colchester was conveyed by this deed. *Ibid.* 424. § Pref. Stiles's Itinerary.

|| Gov. Trumbull's MSS. Trumbull's Hist. I. 424. A repetition of grants was not unusual with Indians. "The colony not only bought the Moheagan country of Uncas, but afterwards all the particular towns were purchased again, either of him or his successors, when the settlements in them commenced." Trumbull, I. 114.

tants.* The Commissioners for the Colonies endeavoured to reclaim him. In 1672, they wrote a letter to him, "to incurrage him to attend on the Minnistry."† Whatever effect this letter may have had on his exterior deportment, it seems not to have reached his heart. Two years afterward (1674) Mr. Fitch, the minister of Norwich, mentions him, as manifesting some appearances of respect to the Christian ministry, but with an entire distrust of his sincerity.‡ About two years afterward, however, when all

* "We being at Wabquissit, at the sagamore's wigwam, divers of the principal people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent a good part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations. There was a person among them, who sitting mute a great space, at last spake to this effect: That he was agent for Unkas, sachem of Mohegan, who challenged right to, and dominion over, this people of Wabquissit. And, said he, Unkas is not well pleased, that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God."

Collections of Hist. Soc. I. 190, 191.

Wabquissit is the south-west corner of Woodstock, now in Connecticut, and is, to this day, called Wabbequasset. This is the territory, which the Mohegans claimed by virtue of conquest.

† Haz. Coll. II. 528.

‡ "Since God hath called me to labour in this work among the Indians nearer to me, where indeed are the most considerable number of any in this colony, the first of my time was spent upon the Indians at Moheek, where Unkas, and his son, and Wanuh, are sachems. These at first carried it teachably and tractably: until at length the sachems did discern, that religion would not consist with a mere receiving of the word; and that practical religion will throw down their heathenish idols, and the sachems' tyrannical monarchy: and then the sachems, discerning this, did not only go away, but drew off their people, some by flatteries, and others by threatenings: and they would not suffer them to give so much as an outward attendance to the ministry of the word of God. But at this time, some few did shew a willingness to attend. These few I began meetings with about one year and a half since.——The number of these Indians is now increased to above thirty grown persons, men and women, besides children and young ones.——For the settlement and encouragement of these Indians, I have given them of mine own lands, and some that I have procured of our town, above 300 acres of good improveable lands, and made it sure to them and theirs, so long as they go on in the ways of God. And at this time Unkas and his sons seem as if they would come on again to attend upon the ministry of the word of God. But it is no other but in envy against these, and to promote some present self design."—*Mr. Fitch's Letter to the Hon. Daniel Gookin, Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 208, 209.*

Mr. Gookin calls Unkas "an old and wicked, wilful man, a drunkard, and otherwise very vitious; who hath always been an opposer and underminer of praying to God." *Ibid.*

all other means had failed of success, a providential event made such an impression on the stubborn mind of the Pagan chief, as gave this pious minister good hope of his conversion, or at least of his sincere conviction of the truth of Christianity. Mr. Hubbard, who published his Narrative of the Indian Wars in 1677, speaking of Uncas, and of his fidelity to the interest of the English, observes : “ It is suspected by them who knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English of their religion, than the rest of his countrymen, and that it hath been his own advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him, as formerly against the Pequods, so of late against the Narrhagansets ; yet hath he not long since been convinced of the truth of our religion, and vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed.” In proof of what he alleges, he adduces the testimony of the reverend Mr. Fitch, who had lately given so discouraging an account of Uncas to General Gookin, of Cambridge. In the preceding summer (1676) there was a great drought in New-England, which was extremely severe at Moheagan, and in the neighbouring country. In August, the corn was dried up ; the fruit and leaves fell off, as in autumn ; and some trees appeared to be dead. The Indians came from Moheagan into Norwich, and lamented that they had not rain ; and that their powawes could get none in their way of worship ; desiring Mr. Fitch, that he would seek to God for rain. He appointed a fast day for that purpose. The day proved to be clear ; but at sun set, at the close of the service, some clouds arose. The next day was cloudy. Uncas went to the house of Mr. Fitch, with many Indians, and lamented the great want of rain. If God shall send you rain, said Mr. Fitch, will you not attribute it to your powawes ? He answered, No ; for we have done our utmost ; but all in vain. If you will declare it before all these Indians, replied the minister, you shall see what God will do for us ; remarking, at the same time, their repeated and unfailing reception of the blessing of rain, in answer to fasting and prayer. Uncas then “ made a great speech ” to the Indians, confessing, that if God should then send rain, it could not be ascribed to their powawing, but must be acknowledged

acknowledged to be an answer to the Englishmen's prayers. On that very day, the clouds became more extended; and, the day following, there was such a copious rain, that their river rose more than two feet in height. §

Whether Uncas *died in faith*, or not, I am unable to say. It is agreeable, however, to find him at last acknowledging the God *who is above*, and paying homage to the religion of his Son. He must now have been an old man; and I do not recollect any subsequent notice of him in history. The same year (1676) Oneco, a son of Uncas, commanded a party of Moheagans, in an expedition with captains Denison and Avery, against the Narragansets.*

The Rev. Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, informs me, that the last sachem of the Moheagan tribe, † Isaiah Uncas, was his pupil in Dr. Wheelock's school, at Lebanon. He was a fat fellow, of dull intellectual parts, as was his father before him, whom also the Doctor well remembers. The race of Uncas, if we may trust the following Epitaph, was peculiarly obnoxious in Colonial History.

EPITAPH on a Stone at Moheag.

"Here lies the body of SUNSEETO

"Own son to Uncas grandson to ONEKO

"Who were the famous sachems of MOHEGAN

"But now they are all dead I think it is Werheegen." ‡

Although several tribes of Indians, in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, had attended to the gospel, and a number of churches had been gathered and maintained among them, for nearly a century; yet very small impression was made on the Moheagans, till about the year 1744; "though much pains had before been taken to win them

§ Hubbard's Indian Wars, 274—276, Worcester edition. See the excellent character of the Rev. Mr. Fitch in Trumbull's Hist. I. 502.

* Hubbard, *ibid.* 182. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 360.

† Among the Connecticut Indians, and among all the Indians in New-England, the crown was hereditary, always descending to the eldest son. Trumbull, *ibid.* I. 40.

‡ Ind. "All is well," or "Good News." President Stiles's Itinerary.

them to embrace the gospel." The zealous, but erratic, Mr. Davenport, at that time directed his zeal toward their conversion ; and the pains which he took, " to incline them to receive instruction," are said to have been eminently blessed.* To the converts, gained at this time, Dr. Trumbull probably refers, when he says, " Some few of the Moheagans have professed Christianity, and been, many years since, admitted to full communion in the north church in New-London."†

About the year 1786, a few Indians went from Moheagan with Mr. Samson Occom§ the celebrated minister, to the country of the Oneidas. A considerable number of their brethren emigrated to that country, at the same time, from

* Prince's Christian History, 21, 154.

† Hist. Connect. I. 495.

§ Mr. Samson Occom was the first Indian pupil educated by the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, and the first Indian preacher of the gospel ever in Great-Britain. Soon after he emerged from Pagan darkness he went to live at Lebanon, with Mr. Wheelock, afterwards President of Dartmouth College ; in whose family, and under whose instructions, he continued for several years. He afterwards kept a school on Long Island, during some years, and at the same time officiated as public teacher of the Indian tribe at Montauk on that island, till he received ordination by the hands of the Suffolk Presbytery. He was afterwards employed on several missions to various tribes of Indians, and his services were well received and approved. At his first entrance on the ministry, and for a considerable time after, he was esteemed and respected in his Christian and ministerial character. He was judged to be " well accomplished and peculiarly turned to teach and edify his savage brethren." Nor was he neglected by the polished inhabitants of the capital towns. Though for many years he was without polite conversation and destitute of a library, yet he preached to good acceptance in New-York, Boston, and other populous places.

By the best judges he was said to be an excellent preacher in his own language, and his influence among the Indians was for a long time great. In 1765 or 1766, he accompanied Rev. Mr. Whitaker to London, for the purpose of soliciting benefactions for the support of Mr. Wheelock's school, instituted at Lebanon for the education of Indian youth to be missionaries and schoolmasters for the natives of North-America.* For the last years of his life, Mr. Occom resided with the Indians at New-Stockbridge, State of New-York, and died in July, 1792. Rev. Mr. Kirkland, Missionary to the Oneidas, preached his funeral sermon.

* *A Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut.* Print. Lond. 1766.

from Farmington, Stonington, Groton, and Nehantick,[‡] in Connecticut; from Long-Island; and from Charlestown in Rhode-Island. || The inducement to this removal was a tract of excellent wild land, given to them by the Oneidas. These emigrants, being most of the scanty remnant of the Muhhekanek Indians, called formerly, "The Seven Tribes on the Sea coast," constitute what are now called, "The Brotherton Indians;" whose entire number, in 1791, was 250, and, in 1796, 150 only. § On their first emigration, they were under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Occom. ¶

Overtaking, at Moheagan, an Indian belonging to the place, I made inquiry of him concerning his tribe. From an account which I had seen in the Historical Collections,[†] I was led to ask him, Whether a great part of the tribe did not go to Oneida with Mr. Occom. "No," he replied; "there didn't hardly any go—Mr. Occom and a few more." Why did not you accept the offer of the Oneidas? "O, live well enough here—land enough—and good fishing!" This same Indian, however, I found was on his way to New-London, for the purpose of taking passage to Albany, meaning to proceed thence to Oneida. His fiddle was slung on his back; and, if one might judge of his disposition, from his easy and sauntering air, he had no real attachment to any one spot of earth, in preference to another.

THE preceding Memoir relates peculiarly to that part of the Moheagan tribe, which dwelt at Moheagan.* The branches of this tribe appear to have been numerous and extensive; but, at what periods they were separated from the original stock, cannot now be ascertained. If we may judge of the numbers and extent of this tribe, from the extent

‡ The eastern part of Lyme. Trumbull's Connect. I. 332.

|| The four last of these places were affirmed by the Indian, hereafter mentioned, to be parts, from which the emigration proceeded. He said it with such promptitude and confidence, that I venture to assert it.

§ Collect. of Hist. Soc. IV. 68; & V. 13.

¶ Ibid.

† Vol. I. 210.

* This Indian town is on the east side of the road from Norwich to New-London, nearly four miles from Norwich Landing.

extent of its *language*, it was one of the largest, if not the very largest, in North-America. On this language a few remarks shall be subjoined. To these the just observations of two respectable writers may properly be prefixed. "It is much to be lamented," says the one,† "that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature, of those which must be present to every nation barbarous or civilized, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the old world to compare them with these, now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race."

"It is to be desired," the other writer|| observes, "that those who are informed, would communicate to the public what information they may possess, relating to this matter. Perhaps by such communication and by a comparison of the languages of Asia, it may appear, not only from what quarter of the world, but from what particular nation, these Indians are derived."—The HISTORICAL SOCIETY, it is respectfully suggested, is a very suitable depository for such communications.

Dr. Edwards remarks, That the *Muhhekaneew* or Stockbridge Indians,‡ as well as the tribe at New-London, are,
by

† Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. Query XI.

|| The Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College, at Schenectady, in his "Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians;" communicated to THE CONNECTICUT SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, and published at the request of the Society in 1788. This tract was republished at New-York in 1801; and is very respectfully noticed, together with its Author (who died that year), in *The American Review and Literary Journal*, Article XII. Vol. I.

‡ These Indians migrated from Hudson's river, about the year 1734, and settled at Stockbridge in Massachusetts. Between the years 1785 and 1787, they removed to Oneida. Before their removal, they wasted
away,

by the Anglo-Americans called *Mohegans*, which is a corruption of *Muhhekaneew*, in the singular, or *Muhhekaneok* in the plural. This language is spoken by all the Indians throughout New-England. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, that of Farmington, that of New-London, &c. has a different dialect; but the language is radically the same. Mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible is in a particular dialect of this language.* The languages of the Delawares,† in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots bordering on Nova-Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanese on the Ohio, and of the Chippewaus at the westward of lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan.‡ The same is said concerning the languages of the Ottowaus, Nanticooks, Munsees, Minomonees, Messisaugas, Saukies, Otagaumies, Killistinoes, Nipegons, Algonkins, Winnebagoes, &c. That the languages of the several tribes in New-England, of the Delawares, and of Mr. Eliot's Bible, are radically the same, Dr. Edwards asserts from his own knowledge. He had good authorities

away, like other Indians. Fifty years ago, there were about 150 families. In 1791, they were reduced to 280 persons, and about 40 warriors. *Coll. of Hist. Soc.* I. 195; IV. 67; and *Pref. to Dr. Edwards' Observations*,

* See the *Lord's Prayer* in this dialect, *Hist. Coll.* VII. 24.

† "The Delaware tribe is called Poh-he-gan, or Mo-hee-gan by themselves; and Auquitsaukon. It is dispersed into three divisions. O-hé-yewh, or Ohéo [French *Ohio*], is the largest." President Stiles' *Itinerary*.

‡ Carver divides the principal languages of North-America into four classes, "as they consist of such as are made use of by the nations of the Iroquois towards the eastern parts of it, the Chipéways or Algonkins to the north-west, the Naydowessies to the west, and the Cherokees, Chickasaws, &c. to the south."—"But of all these," he adds, "the Chipéway tongue appears to be the most prevailing; it being held in such esteem, that the chiefs of every tribe, dwelling about the great lakes, or to the westward of these on the banks of the Mississippi, with those as far south as the Ohio, and as far north as Hudson's Bay, consisting of more than 30 different tribes, speak this language alone in their councils, notwithstanding each has a peculiar one of their own." *Carver's Travels*, Chap. XVII.

If the Chipeway and Mohegan languages are radically the same, Carver's observation does not contradict, but confirm, the sentiment of Dr. Edwards, respecting the extent of the Mohegan language,

authorities for what he says of the rest. He proceeds to illustrate the affinity between the *Mohegan*, the *Shawanee*, and the *Chippewau* languages, by exhibiting a short list of words selected from each of them. The affinity is obviously close ; and whoever wishes for the proof, is referred to the pamphlet itself.

The Mohawk language, which is the language of the Six Nations, Dr. Edwards remarks, is entirely different from that of the Mohegans. Between these two languages he also institutes a comparison, by giving a list of words from each ; but they have not the smallest resemblance to each other. Hutchinson adds confirmation to this account. "The language of the Indians, from Piscataqua to Connecticut," he remarks, "was so nearly the same, that they could tolerably well converse together. Labials they used with freedom. It is observed of the western Indians, particularly of the Six Nations, that they have no labials in all their language, and they and the Nipnets, who lived little more than one hundred miles from them, could not better understand one another than the English and Chinese."*

In the year 1788, Dr. Edwards, who was then prosecuting his inquiries on this subject, communicated to me (at that time living in the state of Georgia) a number of questions, for the purpose of instituting a comparison between the Mohegan language and the languages of the Southern Indians. The Creek Indians being then at war with Georgia, no knowledge of *their* language could be obtained. From an intelligent Negro, however, who lived several years, while a boy, among the Chactaws,† I obtained

* Hist. of Massachusetts, I. 479.

† Du Pratz says, their own pronounciation is *Chat-kas* :—"la grand nation des Chat-kas, suivant la prononciation des ces Peuples, que les François nomment Chactas ou Têtes plates." Hist. Louisiane, II. 216.—This author, from the resemblance of names, thinks it probable, that they came from Kamtschatka, in Asia. "Il paroît très-vraisemblable que les Chatkas de la Louisiane, ne sont autres que ce peuple qui est à l'extrémité de l'Asie près l'Isthme dont j'ai parlé, & qui se nomme *Kam-Chat-kas*, ce qui signifie Royaume de Chat-kas." *Ibid.* III. 132.—That the Indians of America are of Asiatic origin, is an opinion which seems every day to gain new confirmation. See *American Review*, ut *supra*.

obtained some scanty information concerning the Chaſtaw language, which I communicated to my much reſpected correſpondent. Of the queſtions, which were nine in number, I find no copy ; but they may be inferred from the anſwers which were as follow :

“ 1. Specimens of the Chaſtaw language.

Earth	Yaukanah
Water	Auquawh
Hatchet	Schefauh
Brother	Baubſalech
Fellow	Yaukook

“ 2. Their pronouns are

I, or we	Aunuh
Thou, or you, he	Chiſnooh

“ The ſecond perſon ſingular, of the pronoun, is not diſtinguiſhed from the third.*

“ 3. Their pronouns are neither prefixed, nor ſuffixed, to their nouns ; but

Aunu ſchefauh is, my hatchet.

Chiſnooh ſchefauh, your or his hatchet.

4. Verbs.	Eat	Impah
	Give	Cuahpetah
	Fight	Manhoh
	Love	Saupoolah

“ Their pronouns are not affixed to their verbs ; but

Aunuh impah, is I eat.

Chiſnooh impah, You eat, or, he eats.

Chiſnooh ſaupoolah, You I love ; or, him I love ; or, him you love.

“ 5. I cannot find that this language has any variety of tenſes. The verb retains the ſame form, where there is a difference of time.

Aunuh	nenauch	manhoh
We	yesterday	fought.

“ There

* ADAIR, I now find [1804], confirms the correſtneſs of this account. “ *A-nó-wah* [is] the firſt perſon, and *Iſb-na*, the ſecond perſon ſingular ; but they have not a particular pronoun for the third.” *Hiſtory of the American Indians*, 69, 70.

“ There is a word, I think, to denote *to-morrow*, but the word *manboh* is not varied.

“ 6. I cannot find a distinction of moods.

“ 7. They express the qualities of things by adjectives.

Nuquauh	He [is] vexed.
Yankoooh nequauh	That fellow is vexed.
Chifnooh coopahsaw	He is (or, you are) cold.
Chifnooh istoooh	He is (or, you are) hot.

“ 8. I cannot find that this language has any passive voice. Instead of, *I am loved*, they say,

I and you [are] brothers
Aunuh mentuh baubsaleech
I (or we) tired.
Aunuh toopauh.

“ 9. They have no verb substantive.

“ The *Chaataw* language, I am informed, is nearly the same as the *Chickasaw*. The *Chaataws* and *Chickasaws* are thought to have been formerly one tribe.”*

Dr. Edwards, in his answer to my letter, made the following remarks : “ By the specimen you have sent me, it seems the *Chaataw* language is totally different from the *Mohegan*, the most general language of North America, and from that of the Six Nations. In all North America, from the St. Lawrence, to the *Wiondots* ; and from *Nova-Scotia*, to *Lake Superior*, I am persuaded there are

* ADAIR, I find, confirms also the truth of this account. Speaking of the *Chickasaw* (so he spells the word), he observes : “ Their tradition says, they had 10,000 men fit for war, when they first came from the west ; and this account seems very probable, as they and the *Choktah* (so he spells it), and also the *Chokchooma*, who in process of time were forced by war to settle between the two former nations, *came together from the west as one family.*” *Hist. of American Indians*, 352.

“ The most southern old town, which the *Chickasaw* first settled, after the *Chokchoomah*, *Choktah*, and they, *separated, on our side of the Mississippi, into three different tribes, they called Yanéka.*” *Ibid.* 66.

The *Chickasaw* are now settled between the heads of two of the most western branches of *Mobile river*. The *Choktah* country lies in about 33 and 34 deg. north lat. Their western lower towns, according to the course of the Indian path, are situated 200 miles to the northward of *New-Orleans*.

Ibid. 352, 282. and the Map prefixed.

are but two original languages, the Mohegan and that of the Six Nations. I send you a small publication on the Indian language. Perhaps this may give you an opportunity to compare the Mohegan and the Chaſhaw language ſo far, as to obtain full ſatisfaction, that they are radically different languages. If ſo, I ſhall be much favoured by the communication of the reſult of the compariſon.”—— It was not in my power, however, to purſue the inquiry ; for my Negro inſtructor, very ſoon after my interview with him, was carried off by a party of Creek Indians ; and I never afterward found means of farther information on the ſubject.

By the aſſiſtance of ADAIR, I can ſomewhat enlarge my vocabulary. A few examples of a compariſon of the Chaſhaw language with the Mohegan, may be ſufficient, to prove their entire diſſimilitude.

<i>Engliſh</i>	<i>Chaſhaw</i>	<i>Mohegan</i>
The ſun	Neetak-Haſſéh*	Keefogh
The moon	Neennak-Haſſéh	Nepauhauck
Spring	Otoolpha	Thēquan
Summer	Tóme pallet†	Nēpon
Autumn	Aſhtóra móona‡	T’quauquuh
Winter	Aſhtóra	’Hpoon
Water	Auquawh	’Nbey
He	Chifnooh	Uwoh
A hill	Nannè	Gh’aukooock
A mountain	Unchàba	W’chu

The Chickaſaw and the Chaſhaw exactly agree in the above names of the four ſeaſons ; and in ſome of the other examples here given. Both theſe nations count in the following manner :

Chaſhaw

* Theſe Indians have no proper name for the ſun and moon. One word, with a note of diſtinction, expreſſes both. The Chickaſaws and Chaſtaws term the one, “ The day moon, or ſun,” and the other, “ The night ſun, or moon.” *Neetak* ſignifies a day ; and *Neennak*, a night.

† *Toméh* ſignifies “ the ſolar light ;” and *palle*, “ warm,” or “ hot.”

‡ *Aſhtora*, “ winter,” *moona*, “ preſently.”

<i>Chaſtaw</i>	<i>Engliſh</i>	<i>Moheagan</i>
Chephpha	One	Ngwittoh
Toogàlo	Two	Neefoh
Tootchēna	Three	Noghoh
Oofa	Four	Nauwoh
Tathlābe	Five	Nunon
Hannāhle	Six	Ngwittus
Untoogàlo	Seven	Tupouwus
Untootchēna	Eight	Ghufooh
Chakkāle	Nine	Naunceweh
Pokoole	Ten	Mtannit

When the Chickafaws, or Chaſtaws, count beyond ten, they ſay, *Pokoole Aawa Chephpha*, “ten and one.” The Chickafaws term twenty, *Pokoole toogàlo*, “two tens.”

For ſeveral of the *Moheagan* words, in the laſt compariſon, I am indebted to my worthy friend, Mr. WILLIAM JENKS, who lately procured the annexed ſpecimen of this language from a young and intelligent Indian, of the Stockbridge tribe.* Among other things, it ſhews, that the pronounciation of that tribe does not, at this time, eſſentially differ from what it was fifty years ago, when Dr. Edwards learned the language.

The ſpelling is chiefly according to the mode adopted by the preſent ſecretary of the Grand Council of the tribe (who was educated at Dartmouth College) in their public records; and the vocabulary was in fact moſtly written by the young Indian himſelf, in order to preſerve as much accuracy as poſſible.

Specimen

* “John Konkapot, jun. Nhu’h kekit Ochuch Anquiquoi you, maſſhenaunetateh, auſtou Ich naſkmuch.” Such are his name and titles, as lately given by himſelf at Cambridge, in the *Moheagan* tongue. He is, by his own account, a grandſon of the famous old warrior, HENDRICK, the Chief of the Mohawks, who was killed in the French war, 1758. This young Indian ſays, that his grandfather Hendrick was the ſon of a *Moheagan* Chief (called the Wolf), by a Mohawk woman; and that Hendrick alſo married a Mohawk woman, Hunnis, a daughter of the Chief of the Mohawks.

Specimen of the MOHEAGAN language, taken at Cambridge, February 28, 1804.

GOD PAUTAUMOUWOTH
created *kecetaun*
the world *noob keeyb*
and all things *'n'don maurwy*
kaugui
in time, *kenaurwewēnoquicq*,
place, *w'keceghtaun*, gh gut-
tural,
order, *kenaurweghtaun*,
and number. *'n'don autgh-*
aunnoikack.

Of time. *Neenoquicq*.

Time *Kenaurwewēnoquicq*
is divided into *m'ghnaunnoi-*
keeb t'gheghan
an hour, *hour*, from the
English,

a day, *waukaumaww*,*

a month, *kefogb*,

a year. *kētoon*.

In a day are *Neeb waukau-*
mauw oikeeb

the dawn, *pautaupon*,

the morning, *naujaupaurwew*,

the evening, *t'paugbesu*,

the night. *p'quaunaujoub*.

In a year are *Neeb kētoon*
oikeeb

the spring, *thēquan*, th found-
ded as in *thing*,

summer, *nēpon*,

autumn, *t'quauquuh*,

winter. *poon*.

Greater bodies are *Aunou-*
wew maumaugh-
quequicq oikeeb

the heaven, *'thpummuck*,

the sky, *onaurwauk*,

fire, *'thtouw*,

air, *aurwon*,

water, *m'ppēb*,

the earth, *noob keeyb*,

the sun, *kefogb*,

the moon, *nepaubauk*,

a star. *anaquauth*.

Heat, *'Ksetaurwow*,

light, *wauthaujourw*,

cold, *t'hauthu*,

wind, *'kfaughon*,

a rainbow, *anuquaun*,

thunder, *pautquauban*,

smoke, *quusautaurwow*,

a cloud, *m'taucq*,

a river, *thēpow*, th founded
as in *thing*,

the sea, *'ktaunnauppēb*, see
water,

a lake, *'pquaughon*,

ice, *m'quaumeeb*,

snow, *m'sauneeb*,

rain, *thocknaun*,

an island, *m'naubân*, hence
perhaps *Monahigan*, or "is-
land of the Moheagans."

a hill, *gh'aukoock*,

a mountain, *w'chu*, hence
probably *Wachusett*,

a rock, *thaunaumku*.

Of man. *N'neemanâoo*.

an infant, *chacqsefeet*,

a boy, *penaupabthub*,

a girl, *peesquâbthub*,

a young man, *eeowthkenoob*,

a man, *neemanâoo*,

a woman, *p'gbainoom*,

an old man, *'kchee*,

* Wakkamaw is the name of a river in South Carolina.

an old woman, <i>weenauthooth</i> ,	a grandmother, <i>óbmán</i> ,
a husband, <i>w'ghán</i> ,	an aunt, <i>óbméthán</i>
a wife, <i>weewone</i> ,	a King, <i>Kioweenooch</i> ,
a father, <i>o'ghán</i> ,	a Chief, <i>Wauyaurwághou</i> ,
a mother, <i>o'kegán</i> ,	a house, <i>weekwom</i> , hence <i>wig-</i>
a son, <i>w'tiyoumán</i> ,	<i>wam</i> , as spelt by Wood.
a daughter, <i>o'toofán</i> ,	“N. E. Prospect.”†
a brother, <i>o'ghēthmán</i> ,	a bow, <i>'thkenághoo</i> ,
a sister, <i>weetaunpthooán</i> ,	a shield, <i>authkētuck</i> ,
an uncle, <i>oofēthán</i> ,	a book, <i>Oothohégán</i> .‡
a grandfather, <i>mábhghomán</i> ,	

In this short specimen it is remarkable that we find neither an *l* nor an *r*, nor indeed the sound of *f*. This remark was also made by Wood on the language of the *Aberginians*, of which he gives a vocabulary at the end of his “New-England’s Prospect,” printed in London, 1639. Wherever *gh* occurs in the above, the pronunciation is extremely guttural, and appears to be a strong characteristic of the language, hardly imitable by us.

EXTRACT FROM AN INDIAN HISTORY.

THE country formerly owned and possessed by Muh-heakunnuk nation, now called by white people Stockbridge Indians, is situated partly in the State of New-York, partly in Massachusetts and Vermont.

The face of this country is in many places mountainous, supplied with excellent rivers, creeks and ponds ; the side of these rivers, &c. was only known by natives capable of producing skommonun or Indian corn, and tupohquaun or beans, and uhnunnekuthkoatkun or Indian squashes, until it fell into the hands of white people, who convert even many swamps and rocky hills into fruitful fields.

This extensive country abounded with almost every kind of wild game, such as moose, deer, bears, tigers, wolves, beavers, otters, minks, muskrats, martins, foxes, wild cats, fishes, ground hogs, back hogs. Of the feathered

† Spelt *Weekumuhm* by Dr. Edwards.

‡ They have no word, it is said, to express paper.

feathered kind, turkies, wild geese, ducks, partridges, pigeons, quails, owls, &c. and the rivers, &c. abounded with variety of fish and turtles.

The inhabitants chiefly dwelt in little towns and villages. Their chief seat was on Hudson's river, now it is called Albany, which was called Pempotowwuthut, Muhhecanneuw, or the fire place of the Muhheakunnuk nation, where their allies used to come on any business whether relative of the covenants of their friendship, or other matters.

The etymology of the word Muhhaakunnuk, according to original signifying, is great waters or sea, which are constantly in motion, either flowing or ebbing.

Our forefathers asserted, that their ancestors were emigrated from west by north of another country ; they passed over the great waters, where this and the other country is nearly connected, called *Ukbbokpeck* ; it signifies snake water, or water where snakes abounded ; and that they lived by side of great water or sea, from whence they derive the name of Muhheakunnuk nation. Muhheakunneuw signifies a man of Muhheakunnuk tribe. Muhhekunneyuk is a plural number.

We understand that they were more civilized than what Indians are now in the wilderness ; as it was said that they lived in towns, and were very numerous, until there arose a mighty famine which obliged them to disperse throughout the regions of the wilderness after sustenance, and at length lost their ways of former living, and apostatized. As they were coming from the west, they found many great waters, but none of them flowing and ebbing like Muhheakunnuk until they came to Hudson's river ; then they said one to another, this is like Muhheakunnuk our nativity. And when they found grain was very plenty in that country, they agreed to kindle fire there and hang a kettle, whereof they and their children after them might dip out their daily refreshment.

As our ancestors had no art of manufacturing any sort of metal, they had no implements of husbandry ; therefore were not able to cultivate their lands but little, that of planting skommon or Indian corn, beans, and little squashes, which was chiefly left under the management of
women

women and old men, who were incapable of hunting, and little boys. They made use of bone, either moose, bears, or deer's shoulder-place, instead of hoe, to hoe their corn with, tie it fast to one end of a stick or helve made for that purpose. This their way of clearing lands was not so difficult as we should imagine, and that without using an axe. When they find that their fields will fail, they are to prepare another piece of land ; in the first place they do, they make a fire round the foot of every tree, as many trees as standing on the ground they intended to clear, until the bark of the tree is burnt through, for trees are killed very easy in this manner. They planted while trees are standing after they are killed ; and as soon as trees are fell, they burnt it of such length that they might roll the logs together, and burnt them up to ashes, thus they do till they get it quite clear. An industrious woman, when great many dry logs are fallen, could burn off as many logs in one day as a smart man can chop in two or three days time with an axe. They make use of only a uthonnetmuhheakun or a stone axe, something like the shape of an axe, helve to it as of the hoe already mentioned, with which they rub the coals of the burning logs. But the employment of men consisted in hunting and fishing. They used bow and arrow to kill game, with which they were expert. They used to catch deer by insnaring them with strings. By hunting they supplied themselves with cloathing and diet ; they seldom felt much want, and they were very well contented with their condition ; having food and raiment was their only aim. They were not to kill more than necessary, for there was none to barter with them that would have tempted them to waste their animals, as they did after the Chuckopek or white people came on this island, consequently game was never diminished. They hunted occasionally a whole year ; but hunting seasons are properly divided into two parts of a year. In fall, they hunt for deer, bear, beaver, otter, rackoon, fishes, martin for their cloathing, and drying meat for the ensuing season ; and in the beginning of March, they used to go out to hunt for moose on the green mountains, where these animals keep for winter quarters. From thence they go again for beaver

ver hunting as soon as the rivers, ponds, and creeks are opened ; but they used to take good care not to stay over two months.

And as our ancestors were not subject to so many disorders or sicknesses, as they were after Chuckopek or white people settled among them, they flourished in some measure. That before they begun to decay, our forefathers informed us, that Muhheakunnuk nation could then raised about one thousand warriors who could turn out at any emergency. Their weapons of war, besides bow and arrows already described, puhwy made of wooden knot, helve to it ; and quennehtuhheakun or long cut ; and tkuttekun or spear made of bone or horn and some of flinty stone, with long helve to it ; thus also were quivers, commonly made of otter skin, which contain forty or fifty arrows ; and in battle they used shields made of green hide, or breast plate.

Muhheakunnuk nation were formerly deemed to be best warriors in the field, truly formidable to any nation, which is still acknowledged by the western tribes.

JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF YORK IN VIRGINIA BY A
CHAPLAIN OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

September 12th, 1781. **T**HIS day, Major-General Lincoln and the second division of American troops embarked at the head of Elk, and proceeded in small schooners and flat-bottomed boats as far as Plumb-point.

13th. This day we reached Worten-creek, which is about thirty miles from the head of Elk.

14th. We sailed this day about thirty miles, and arrived at Annapolis in Maryland.

15th. Went on shore at Annapolis, and continued the most of the day, and were entertained very genteelly by some of the inhabitants.

16th. This day we left Annapolis, and sailed as far as Herring-bay and came to anchor.

17th. This day we reached the mouth of the river Patuxen and anchored.

18th,

18th. The last night was very stormy and part of this day, so that we did not sail until 12 o'clock. After which we proceeded, though not with a fair wind, yet, with a wind which permitted us to lay our course during the remainder of the day.

19th. We sailed all last night, and in the evening of this day reached the mouth of James' river. In the failing of this day we passed a number of the French ships of war, and, at a great distance, saw the French fleet in Lynnhaven bay. Here we met with General Washington, who was on board the Charlotte ship of war, which had been taken from the enemy. The General was returning from a conference which had been held between him and the Count De Grasse.

20th. We proceeded up James' river with a fair wind, until our vessel ran on ground, where we continued till 8 o'clock this morning, when we left that vessel, and went on board of a smaller one. The wind was against us this day, and very violent; nevertheless, by tacking frequently and contending with the wind, we arrived at this place, which is called the landing of Archer's Hope. This day no small difficulty nor danger attended us. Our vessel ran on ground repeatedly this day.

21st. This day General Lincoln again embarked and went down James' river with provision for the troops, who had been detained by contrary winds, or bad failing vessels. The General, anxious for the safety and comfort of the troops, would trust none but himself to relieve them from their present difficulties.

22d. This day some of the troops arrived. General Washington arrived this day from the French fleet. The vessel he came in ran on ground.

Sunday, 23d. This day General Lincoln returned from the mouth of the river, having been down to supply the troops with provisions. His vessel ran on ground, and he was in great danger; but happy is the man who has learned to view the raging of winds and waters with the sweetest composure; and can smile amidst the thunder of cannon, and all the winged instruments of death!— This day I went to Williamsburgh and preached to the light-infantry, commanded by the Marquis De la Fayette.

24th.

24th. I remained the last night in Williamsburgh. There are about 300 houses in this town, some of which are very good, but the greater number are very mean. The College is about 130 feet in length and 40 in breadth. Two handsome wings, about 50 feet by 30, have been added to this building. This College is three stories high; and has a very good apparatus, and a large library of ancient authors, but the modern authors are few.—The capitol, or state-house, in which the Assembly used to meet; and the palace in which the Governor resided, are both very grand buildings. The court-house and the church are also good buildings. Besides these there are a few good private houses. A principal street, about one mile in length, runs through the whole town; the other streets are very irregular. All the land which I have yet seen in Virginia is very poor, except where it has been very laboriously manured.

The troops arrive and disembark every day. The last night the flat-bottomed boats arrived safe without the loss of any of the men, though they had been in a most violent storm.

26th. The last night the French troops finished their disembarkation. This day General Lincoln and the two brigades of York and Jersey troops moved from Archer's Hope, and encamped at the east end of Williamsburgh.

27th. Near Williamsburgh. The water in this state is very bad; we have not had any which is fit to drink since we came on shore until this day. We are now within 12 miles of York, where the enemy are.

28th. This day we marched to a place which is about two miles from the town of York.

29th. Our troops lay on their arms the last night, and expected an attack from the enemy; but they did not disturb us. This day the whole army approached the enemy's lines. A cannonade from the enemy took place, but we received very little injury. The American troops, consisting of three divisions, under the command of General Lincoln, encamped about one mile from the enemy's works.

Sunday, 30th. This day 1200 men from the American camp are ordered to make fascines, gabions, and sangs.

fauciflons. The last night the enemy retired from their out works, which are in front of our army. This day the French and American troops took possession of them. The enemy appear to have fortified the town very strangely, to which they have now retired. Colonel Scammel, being officer of the day, and reconnoitering the situation of the enemy, was surprized by a party of their horse, and after being taken prisoner was inhumanly wounded by them.

October 1st. This day, 1200 men are on fatigue in order to prepare for the siege of York. This day our troops began a work on the ground which the enemy so lately had in their possession. The French troops also began a work at the same time. The fire of the enemy has been very constant this day, but we have lost but three or four men yet.

2d. The firing of the enemy has continued all this day, in order to annoy our men who are working on a redoubt. No men have been killed this day in the American camp.

3d. This day the firing from the enemy abated. Last night four men were killed in our camp by one cannon ball from the enemy. Military stores and cannon are coming every day from the landing, about six miles from this place.

4th. The general orders of this day mention an action of yesterday, in which the Duke De Laufune defeated Colonel Tarlton, killed and wounded a number of his officers and men.

5th. Preparations are making to besiege the enemy with great vigour. Our troops vie with one another in the performance of duty and the love of danger.

6th. A gentleman from General Greene's army informs us, that on the 8th of September the southern army defeated the enemy at Eutaw springs.

Sunday, 7th. Last night the trenches were opened, at the distance of about 800 yards from the enemy. The American troops, under the command of General Lincoln, broke ground on the right, and the French, under the command of the Baron Viaminill, on the left. The night was the most favourable in the world. Providence seemed

very evidently to have drawn the curtains of darkness around us on purpose to conceal us from our enemies until the time of the greatest danger had passed by. Not a man killed or wounded in the American camp, and but a few in the camp of the French. Let gratitude abound in our hearts for this remarkable instance of the divine goodness. Colonel Scammel died yesterday at Williamburgh.

8th. Our troops are going on with their works most vigorously, and meet with very little opposition from the enemy; only four or five men have been wounded this day.

9th. This day an American battery of six guns, 18 and 24 pounders, and four mortars, began to play on the town.

10th. The last night the cannonade and bombardment did not cease. This day a second American battery of four 18 pounders is opened, and a French battery of twelve 24 pounders and eight mortars increases the horrors of war. The British batteries are mostly silent this day.

11th. A cannonade and bombardment continued through the most of the last night, and this day the engines of war have raged with redoubled fury. Two of the enemy's ships were burned the last night; one this day. They were fired by red hot shot from a battery under the direction of the Marquis De St. Simon. I have heard of no man being killed this day.

12th. The French have, this day, played upon the enemy from seven batteries, which contain about forty pieces of ordnance. The horrors of war must have been very evident to our enemies this day.

13th. The last night the fire of the enemy was very constant and severe. Our troops opened the trenches of the second parallel.

Sunday, 14th. No cessation of firing the last night. This day Captain White and four soldiers were killed, and ten wounded in our trenches.

15th. The last night an attack was made on two redoubts of the enemy. The French took the one, and the Americans the other. They were both carried in the most gallant and enterprising manner. The American light
infantry,

infantry, under the Marquis La Fayette, in storming the redoubt, had about eight killed, and twenty-five wounded. No officers killed, and but four wounded. None of the enemy were put to death after they asked for mercy ; this is an evidence of the generosity and humanity which dwell in the breasts of the Americans, when they have a cruel and unmerciful enemy in their power.

16th. The last night the enemy made a sortie where our batteries were not completed on the second parallel. They spiked up seven or eight pieces of cannon ; but were obliged to retreat suddenly, leaving a number of their men killed in the trenches.

17th. This day we opened some batteries on the second parallel, and are almost prepared to cannonade and bombard the town with seventy pieces of ordnance. The cannonade of this day has been prevented by the arrival of a flag from the enemy, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, also desiring to know upon what conditions the garrison may expect to surrender. General Washington informed them what terms he would give them, and has allowed them only two hours to consider them, and to give an answer. This day four years, Burgoyne and his whole army surrendered to the United States ; that signal instance of the smiles of heaven, and what we now have in prospect, should make us very thankful to Almighty God.

18th. This day the enemy have agreed to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined arms of France and America. Hallelujah !

19th. This day the enemy marched out of their works and laid down their arms. Some French and American troops have taken possession of the town.

20th. What an alteration do we find this day ! The fields and plains, which so lately were the theatres of death and carnage are now places of safety, and peace !

21st. This day I preached a sermon, on the account of our success, before Generals Lincoln and Clinton, to the York brigade, and one brigade of light infantry.

Monday, 22d. I this day went to see York. It contains about 60 houses. Many of them are very much damaged, some of them totally ruined. This town is well situated

situated for trade. Gloucester has about twenty houses in it, where the most of the British sick are. It is at present a most miserable and infectious place.

MEMOIR OF MR. EBENEZER GRANT MARSH, DECEASED,
EXTRACTED FROM DR. DANA'S FUNERAL DISCOURSE.

MR. EBENEZER GRANT MARSH was known to you from his childhood. In each of the ten years last past, he was a member of my family a great proportion of the time. Called by my esteemed friend and brother to sympathize with him and his house, and to minister to you on this mournful occasion, some sketches of the life and character of this excellent young man will be expected, as a due tribute of respect to departed worth.

The Father of spirits was pleased to endow him with a superiour genius, and a mind fitted for contemplation. Formed by the earliest education to studious and pious habits, favoured with the best advantages for the culture of his talents, he increased in wisdom and virtue, as in age.

His secret retirement and devotion, best known to Him who seeth in secret, were remarked by those who guided his early steps.

Admitted a member of College, in his fifteenth year, his application to his studies was assiduous and uniform ; so that he always ranked with the first scholars in his class. The general tenour of his deportment conciliated the esteem of his fellow students, and of the officers of the College.

He was graduated in 1795 ; and continued to reside at New-Haven. In 1798 he was chosen Instructor in Hebrew ; Tutor, in 1799 ; and Professor of Languages and Ecclesiastical History in 1802. His election to these various offices was a just tribute to literary merit.

Well acquainted with all branches of academick instruction, it was his delightful employment to imbue the minds of his pupils with science and virtuous principles. He received in return, from each succeeding class under his instruction, constant testimonies of gratitude, affection and esteem.

Appreciating

Appreciating his advantages to lay a good foundation for future usefulness and eminence in life, he separated himself for the search of all wisdom. Seldom is a good genius cultivated by so ardent a love of science.

He excelled in the learned languages, general history, and ancient, especially *oriental*, literature. By placing in opposite columns, in his manuscripts, the history of manners and religious rites, in the east and in the west, he endeavoured to make it *conspicuous*, that they had the same origin. His dissertations on the Mosaick history of creation, the origin of language, and the descent of all nations from one pair, evince his abilities and industry.

His laborious researches embraced the antiquities of our own country, in the history of which he was particularly informed.

He examined the principles and manners of the Moderns as well as the Ancients, and observed the passing affairs of the world.

Biography, ecclesiastical history, and the evidences of natural and revealed religion, he had much attended to.

On this great variety of subjects, he made judicious extracts from, and compendiums of, the ablest authors. These manuscripts contain fifteen volumes, about two hundred pages in each.

He commenced his studies, from day to day, with reading in his Hebrew bible, and penning down occasional observations on the original text.

Uniting good judgment with extensive reading and a retentive memory ; observing also strict order and method in his literary pursuits, he had amassed, from the best sources, rare treasures of wisdom and science. Not fond of mere abstruse speculations, he searched for useful truth, and that only. He was one of those practical scholars, who value the dictates of *common sense*.

His conversation had nothing contracted or assuming—nothing of the pedant or recluse student. It was cheerful without levity—entertaining and pleasing to the wise and unwise.

Considering himself as a steward—accountable to him who maketh some to differ from others, his talents were consecrated to the glory of God, and the good of mankind.

kind. The spirit of vital piety added a lustre to his other accomplishments. So far as a Christian may be known by the uniform tenour of his conversation—so far as an irreproachable life lays a foundation to presume goodness of heart—so far as we may know the moral and religious character of others, he *feared the Lord from his youth*. According to the sentiments and example in the text, he sought his happiness in the approbation of God through the Redeemer, a conformity to the divine moral perfections, and the immortality brought to light by the gospel. No traits in his character could lead us to number him among the *men whose portion is in this life*.

As a candidate for the ministry, few come forward with his fund of science, advantages to magnify the office, and prospects of acceptance. His sermons, full of thought, written in a pure, perspicuous style, with judicious arrangement, and a proper degree of pathos, were applauded by the best judges, and edifying to all.

Known and esteemed by the first characters in this State, he had many testimonies from learned and excellent men in neighbouring States. The Massachusetts Historical Society lately elected him a member. In the official letter, informing him of the choice, their secretary writes, “Be assured, Sir, we have no small respect for the character you maintain in the republick of letters.” He was respected as far as known, and known far for his years.

Upon an invitation from one of the largest and most respectable churches in a neighbouring State, he had engaged to minister to them in the last vacation at the College: but the mysterious providence of God was pleased to order otherwise. Arrested by a disease, which was attended with alarming symptoms at first, he languished about four months, and closed the scene.

To the servant, who made a good improvement of his talents, the Proprietor said, *Well done,—Thou hast been faithful in a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*

In few instances is the vanity of human hopes exemplified as in the early death of this rising character. *Verily every man, at his best state, is altogether vanity.* Whilst the family, kindred and acquaintance are peculiarly affected with

with his removal in the morning of life ; it will be lamented, as a common loss, by the seat of literature, the country, the church, and the republick of letters.

This death, in one view premature, is not so in another. To a short life, filled up with unintermitting industry and usefulness, as was that of our lamented friend, we may apply the observation, "Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years. But wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age. Though the righteous be prevented with death ; yet shall he be in rest."

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A. TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF CATSKILL, IN THE STATE OF NEW-YORK. 1803. BY REV. CLARK BROWN.

CATSKILL is the shire town of the county of Greene. It is one hundred and twenty-four miles north of the city of New-York, and thirty-six south of Albany. It was formerly part of the town of Coxsackie, which was bounded north by Albany, south by Kingston, east by Hudson river, and west by unincorporated lands.

Catskill was incorporated into a town in the year 1786. It then belonged to the county of Albany. In 1797 it was annexed to the county of Ulster. In 1799 the county of Greene was incorporated, and Catskill was made the shire town.

Boundaries.

It is bounded north by Coxsackie, south by Sagutyes, east by Hudson river, and west by Canton. It extends along the river thirteen miles. The south part of the town extends to the top of a large mountain, connected with a ridge of mountains generally known by the name of Catskill-mountains.

Soil and Face of the Land.

The soil is principally of a clayey nature. In almost every part of the town there is clay suitable for the making of brick. In the roads and streets clay may be digged

ged in great abundance. The soil however is somewhat interspersed with sand and loam. The loam in some places lies above the sand, and in other, the sand above the loam.

The land is generally hilly, and in some places mountainous. There are in the town lime and stone ledges; from which lime and slate are taken for building, which renders them valuable.

In 1797 several acres of a large hill, lying on the west of Catskill-creek, slid off all at once, carrying the cattle and sheep, which were on it, several rods, without injuring any of them. This opened a large bed of marl, which has been found to answer a good purpose for manure; within a few rods of the spot, vessels which draw ten feet of water can come with convenience.

Rivers, Streams, &c.

On the east is the Hudson river, which is one of the largest and most commodious rivers in the United States. It is navigable for any ship to Catskill, which ever entered the harbour of the city of New-York.

The Catskill river, or creek, rises out of the lake in a swamp, in Scott's Patent, thirty-four miles from where it empties itself into the Hudson. About twenty miles from the mouth, it is intersected by the Canton-kill, which rises in a lake on the height of Catskill mountains, or as sometimes called Blue Mountains, but more properly, the Allegany. To these streams nature has been more liberal, in many respects, than perhaps to any small streams on the continent. At every season of the year they afford sufficiency of water. They abound with falls and dams, formed by nature, far superiour for strength and convenience to any made by art. They require little more than a suitable building and machinery, to set any kind of water works in motion.

At the south-west part of the town, there is a fall of water of two hundred and sixty feet perpendicular.

About four miles from Catskill landing, there is a lake containing between forty and fifty acres, situated on a mountain of considerable magnitude. From this lake issues a stream of water running one hundred feet under a bed of limestone, whose height is thirty feet above the surface

face of the lake. After running about half of a mile, it carries a saw, grist, and fulling mill, all of which are erected at the foot of the mountain, on which is the lake.

Roads.

The principal road is the Turnpike, leading from Catskill-landing to the Susquehannah river, a distance of about ninety miles ; not far from the junction of the Oleout with the Susquehannah.

From the village of Lunenburg, which lies at the north part of the town, there is a turnpike road extending twenty-one miles west ; at which distance it approaches within a mile and a quarter of the Susquehannah turnpike, and is there intersected by a turnpike from Old Schoharie, running north and south.

There is a company incorporated by the Legislature at the last session, for the purpose of making, agreeably to petition, a turnpike road from Albany to the line of the state of New-Jersey. This road is to pass through the villages of Lunenburg and Catskill-landing. In its whole extent it is to be made as near Hudson river, as the nature of the ground will admit.

There are several other roads of a more private nature, and which are as good, as they are in general in old settled towns in Massachusetts.

Timber.

The principal timber is the white and black oak, and the yellow and white pine. Of the best kind of timber for ship-building there is plenty. Walnut and maple are also plenteous ; particularly the former, which is considered the most valuable on account of the nuts, which it produces in great abundance, and which are much admired for their superiour quality. About a thousand bushels are annually exported from the town.

Produce.

Wheat, ryé, corn, barley, oats, and peas, are raised, more than sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. The soil is favourable for wheat. A large quantity is yearly raised and floured for the New-York market. All kinds of fruit, common to the northern states, is raised in abundance.

abundance. The land produces excellent grass for pasturing and hay. Beef and pork are raised for exportation.

At the south-west part of the town, black spruce grows in abundance, from which a large quantity of the essence is extracted for making beer, the greater part of which is exported.

Number of Inhabitants.

There are between five and six thousand inhabitants in the town, the majority of whom are from the New-England states. There are seven hundred electors. There are numbers of Dutch, and between seven and eight hundred blacks. Nearly two thousand inhabitants are in Catskill-landing, living within three quarters of a mile of each other.

Mills.

There are seven grist mills, and about the same number of saw mills.

Four miles from the mouth of Catskill creek, in the village of Madison, stands a flouring mill, lately erected, belonging to Ira Day and Company, a few rods west of the Susquehannah turnpike. It was set in motion in February, 1803. It is the most curious and complicated piece of machinery, which perhaps is of the kind in the United States. It daily manufactures between five and six hundred bushels of wheat into flour. It has two water wheels, each of which carries two stoves for the grinding of the wheat, &c. The whole of the wheat, as it is purchased, is poured into a hopper containing fifteen bushels, in which it is weighed, the hopper being erected for the purpose upon a scale fashion. Hence it descends into different bins, according to its quality for goodness, conducted by different spouts. From these bins the wheat is taken by elevators, and is conducted through screws, fanning mills, smut machines, into the hoppers over the stoves for grinding. After having descended into a long trough, it is conducted up into the bolts, and thence to a large cooling room, and there cooled by stirring; after which it is carried into a room for packing. All these various operations, with a packing screw, are performed by water, effected in consequence of different gear by the two large water wheels only. These wheels are turned with rapidity.

ity, with not more than half the quantity of water, which is necessary for one of our common grist mills. The flour made in this mill is principally sold in New-York.

Villages.

There are four villages in the town, viz. Madison, Jefferson, Lunenburg, and Catskill-landing.

MADISON is a small village. It consists of nine dwelling houses, newly and neatly built, at the mill before described, of three stores, one publick house, and a few other small buildings. There is kept here a large store of European and West-India goods. This village will send annually, according to present calculation, through Catskill-landing to New-York, between sixty and seventy thousand dollars worth of flour, chiefly belonging to Ira Day and Company. It is a place, which undoubtedly must increase in settlements and business very rapidly.

JEFFERSON is also a new village. It is situated about two miles north of Catskill-landing, and about the same distance south of Madison. It consists of ten dwelling houses, three stores, and two publick houses. The merchants trade in lumber, which they receive for their goods; the most of which is sent to the landing for sale.

LUNENBURG is situated on the west bank of Hudson river, directly opposite to the city of Hudson, commanding a beautiful prospect of its buildings and shipping. It is five miles north of Catskill-landing. It contains near a hundred buildings, including dwelling houses, stores, &c. The south part of this village, which goes by the name of Lower Purchase, is in a very flourishing situation. Between this and the Upper Purchase, or the north part of Lunenburg, there is a small distance without any buildings. They are in fact two separate villages at present, though known both by the name of Lunenburg. It is about two years since they began to build on the lower purchase. It now consists of between twenty and thirty buildings, erected mostly with brick, in a neat and well finished manner. It is already a place of considerable business, and is conveniently situated for navigation. Several wharves have lately been built out into the river. To the upper purchase the inhabitants have given the name of Espran-
ija.

ija. This upper purchase has been settled a long time. Several of the inhabitants are Dutch. They are said to possess a litigious spirit, being inclined to have almost every trivial controversy settled by law. The writer of this has been creditably informed, that in this village, forty judgments have been obtained in the course of one day, before one justice of the peace.

CATSKILL-LANDING is the principal and most noted place in the town. It lies on Catskill creek, which forms a safe and convenient harbour for vessels. The creek is narrow and deep; but no vessel, which draws more than ten feet of water, can come into it, by reason of a sand bar near its junction with the Hudson river. The populous part of the village at present is nearly half of a mile from the Gnat river. There are twelve wharves built into the creek. From the mouth of the creek to the north part of the village the course is north, two points west.

There are nearly two hundred buildings in the village; twelve ware houses, thirty-one mercantile stores, one court-house and jail for the county, a printing office, and the remainder dwelling houses. The buildings are good; many of them are of brick. The dwelling houses are mostly two stories high. Those, which are not built of brick, are handsomely painted.

The village consists principally of two rows of houses, running nearly parallel with the creek, forming one large and handsome street. On the east of the village there is a large hill, at the foot of which the houses are built. On its eminence stand the court-house and jail. The top of the hill being level and convenient for building, it has been laid out into regular streets and house lots. There is but one dwelling house on this eminence, which was built the present year. This house commands a beautiful prospect of Hudson river, and of all the vessels passing up and down the river. All the other house lots on this eminence afford an equally agreeable prospect. This village is watered by the best of spring water, and is conducted into almost every house by an aqueduct.

From the village there is a romantick prospect of all the blue mountains, and of the little hills upon them. This
village

village is perhaps unequalled, in point of situation for the West-India trade, by any of its bigness on the continent. It affords in great abundance every article for exportation, and almost every article necessary for ship-building. A wharf might be built into Hudson river as far as a small island, which lies about one quarter of a mile from the shore, to accommodate the trade carried on by navigation. A wharf might be built here with little expence, as the ground, from the east bank of the river to the island, is bare at low water, there being a large flat between them. Near the west part of the island is the channel of the river. But notwithstanding these uncommon conveniences for the West-India trade, the inhabitants have never engaged in it ; it being a business with which they are wholly unacquainted, and of consequence fearful, that they should not carry it on with success. To gentlemen of property acquainted with the West-India trade, the situation and prospects afford the most ample encouragement to allure them here, and to induce them immediately to engage in the business. The present inhabitants have already had it in contemplation to build a wharf out as far as the island before mentioned. They are generally possessed of a publick and enterprising spirit.

Stages and Mails.

After the first of October next, a stage will start for Albany, and one for New-York, on every Tuesday and Friday, and others from the same places will arrive here on the same days. These will intersect various other lines of stages from the different parts of other states. The mail goes to, and returns from, Hudson, twice a week by water. There is also a mail from this place to Tioga-point, in the state of Pennsylvania, which is commonly but one fortnight going and coming.

Amount of Exportation.

From the town there is annually exported to the city of New-York, between three and four hundred thousand dollars worth of produce ; more than three hundred thousand of which go from Catskill-landing.

Bridge.

The only bridge of any considerable magnitude is that, which

which is built over Catskill creek. It is two hundred feet in length. It has a draw, through which vessels pass to the north part of the village. It is a place of resort in the warm season of the year for parties of pleasure. It affords a beautiful prospect. It is a toll bridge ; over which the New-York and Albany stages pass.

Fishing and Fowling.

Shad, bass, herring, sturgeon, pike, trout, perch, &c. are caught in Hudson river. Various kinds of small fish are found in the other streams.

Wild geese and ducks are found very plenteously in the spring and autumn. These and wild pigeons are the chief fowls, which are killed for use. Fishing and fowling are under no restrictions, but free for any one.

Increase of landed Property.

Land, which was sold in Catskill-landing, in the year 1786, for ten dollars an acre, has since been sold at the rate of four thousand dollars an acre. Good building lots, consisting of sixty feet in front, and one hundred in rear, are now selling from three to four hundred dollars, by the acre.

Progression of Population and Business.

In Catskill-landing there has been a natural progressive increase of business, equal, if not superiour, to any on Hudson river, and perhaps to any in this country.

In the year 1787 the village consisted of but five dwelling houses, and one store ; at which time there were two sloops belonging to the place, which were employed in carrying lumber to New-York. In that year there were but two hundred and fifty-seven bushels of wheat, fifteen thousand feet of lumber, and two thousand nine hundred and eighty pounds of pot ash exported from the place. In 1792 the village consisted of ten buildings ; one coasting sloop of between fifty and sixty tons was the only vessel, which was then owned in the place. In that year there were only six hundred and twenty-four bushels of wheat sent from the place, which was the principal article of exportation. In 1802 the village consisted of one hundred and eighty buildings ; at which time twelve vessels were owned

owned in the place, which were employed in carrying the produce of the country to New-York. Two others were employed in coasting to and from Boston, and one to the southern states. The navigation increases in proportion to the population. In that year ten thousand bushels of wheat were exported. The exportation of pot and pearl ashes has increased in proportion. Between fifteen and sixteen hundred sleighs, containing chiefly wheat and pot-ash, have been unloaded in the village in one day. In the village shipping to the amount of thirty-seven thousand tons have been built, in one year, for foreign markets.

Taking into consideration the many advantages, which this village enjoys for navigation and trade, and also that the turnpike road from Salisbury in Connecticut to the Susquehannah river, which passes through the village, a distance of an hundred and eleven miles, will be completed this season ; the inhabitants may reasonably expect a still more rapid increase of trade and population.

Literature.

There are fifteen schools taught in the town ; three of which are in the Landing. In one of these are taught the languages.

There is a well regulated library in the Landing, containing six hundred and seventy-two volumes of well chosen books.

There are two clergymen in the town ; one at the Landing, an Episcopalian, and the other a Dutch Presbyterian, between two and three miles west of the Landing.

There are eight licensed attornies in the town, and several merchants, who have received a publick education ; two of whom have been regular settled ministers in Connecticut, and another was a licensed candidate preacher from that State. These three are now members of the Presbyterian church in Catskill-landing, and gentlemen of reputable characters.

Churches.

There are four churches in the town. Two at the Landing ; one Episcopalian, of which Rev. Mr. Bradford is the minister ; and one Presbyterian, over which there is no settled minister. One is in the village of Lunenburg, which

which at present is vacant ; and one between two and three miles west of the Landing, over which Rev. Mr. Laubaugh is the minister.

Houses of Publick Worship.

There are at present but two in the town, which belong to the two Dutch churches and societies. The Episcopalians are making preparations to build one in the course of the present year. The Presbyterian society intend soon to build them a meeting-house, and to settle a minister. At present they meet in the court-house for publick worship. Several wealthy and publick spirited men belong to this church and society.

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NEWTOWN, IN THE STATE OF NEW-YORK. AUGUST, 1803. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE PRECEDING ARTICLE.

NEWTON lies at the south-west corner of the county of Tioga. It is a half shire.* The township is thirteen miles square ; but not more than one quarter of the land is under improvement. It was incorporated in the year 1793.

Boundaries.

South by the north line of Pennsylvania, in north latitude 42° . ; east by Chemung ; north by Catharines ; and west by the pre-emption line, bounding the east part of a gore of land, ceded to Massachusetts by the legislature of New-York.

Newtown Village.

The village lies on the north bank of Tioga river. The principal street is Water-street ; the houses and stores on which are compact : they stand fronting the river, at the distance of about four rods. There are two other streets laid out, parallel to Water-street, running east and west. From Water-street there are eight cross streets, leading north into the two other long streets ; but the greater part

* The Courts for the county sit half the time in Chenengo, sixty miles from Newtown.

part of the buildings are as yet on Water-street, extending east and west, nearly one mile. Most of the buildings have been erected within six years. It is a very flourishing place. There is a large country already settled, lying north and west of it; the surplus produce of which is brought to it for market. The produce of the country round the Seneca and Cayuga lakes is brought here to be sent down the Susquehannah river, either to Baltimore or to some of the towns north. To favour the intercourse between the inhabitants in the vicinity of the lakes and those of Newtown, and to render transportation less expensive, the legislature have granted an act of incorporation for making a turnpike road, extending from the village to the lakes, which is a distance of eighteen miles. It is expected, that this road will be completed by the autumn of 1804. The land on each side of the road is good, except a few miles which is low and swampy. On the front of the village, in the river, there is a small island, containing about eight acres. It is long and narrow. On it are growing several kinds of trees, which make a delightful shade in the hot season of the year. It is a retreat for parties of pleasure.

The land in the village, on Water-street, is selling from three hundred to six hundred dollars by the acre. The village is three hundred and sixty-seven miles from the Federal-city, north, 15'. east.

Soil and Produce.

The soil is generally good. Near the river it is of a clayey nature. The land is suitable for grass, English grain, and corn. Most of the hay is made from good herds-grass. Large quantities of wheat are raised, and sent down the Susquehannah in arks, constructed for the purpose. The arks carry from ten to fourteen hundred bushels each. Part of the wheat is sent to Baltimore. Between forty and fifty thousand bushels are sent down the Susquehannah from Newtown annually. The land is very favourable for raising stock. Fat cattle are carried to market down the river in arks. This is a much easier and cheaper way than driving them by land.

The principal wood is the oak, walnut, and maple; but

birch, elm, butter-nut, and pine, are not scarce. Adjacent to the village, for little more than a mile each way, the timber is mostly pine and hemlock. The soil, on which this grows, is not so clear and good as that which produces hard wood.

Most of the pine timber is suitable for lumber, a considerable quantity of which is made, and sent down the Susquehannah in rafts.

The country at present does not produce much fruit. Peaches are more common than apples. In a few years however apples will be plenty, as farmers in general are paying great attention to nurseries and orchards. There are already several large orchards set out, which are highly flourishing; several of which begin to bear fruit. It is therefore probable, that cider will be plenty here in a few years.

Wild apples and plumbs are found in abundance in the woods in autumn. These make excellent preserves, and are gathered for this purpose by the inhabitants. The apple is about as large as a shagbark walnut, including the bark. It is, when ripe, hard and very tart.

The plumb is palatable and sweet. Some of them are red, and others are yellow.

Mandrakes are also found in the woods. They are gathered and preserved for sweetmeats.

Several thousand pounds of good maple sugar are made in the town every year. It is likewise made in the adjacent settlements, and brought into Newtown for sale.

Roads.

The roads in and about Newtown are very good; much better than they are generally in old settled towns at the eastward.

Mountains.

The greater part of the land is level. There are two mountains in the town. The larger of which is nearly four miles west of the village, extending north and south, and inclining two points and an half east from the north part of the town to the south. The other is one mile and an half east of the village. Its course is also north and south, inclining from the north part of the town, as it extends

extends to the south part, one point west. These mountains are covered with brush wood and trees. They are very steep, and incapable of much improvement, particularly that on the west of the village. They however occupy but a small proportion of the town.

Streams.

The Tioga river runs through the town from the west to the east, inclining, after it passes the village, almost a south-east course. It empties into the Susquehannah at Tioga Point, in the state of Pennsylvania, lat. $41^{\circ} 57'$. twenty miles from Newtown village. By it the inhabitants have connexion, and maintain commercial intercourse with the towns on the Susquehannah, as far south as Baltimore, in the state of Maryland. It is navigable for boats, which carry from twenty to five-and-twenty tons, as far as the town, called Painted-Post,* eighteen miles west of the village. At this place, there is a junction of two streams, forming the Tioga river; one of which comes from the north-east, and the other about one point south of west.

There are two other streams, one of which is called Newtown creek, and the other Seeby's creek. They both empty into Tioga river. Newtown creek rises south of the Seneca lake. Its course is almost due south. It falls into the Tioga river at the east part of the village, forming by its junction with the river what is called Newtown Point. It is a permanent stream, having its rise from durable springs. On it stand several grist and saw mills.

Seeby's creek, so called, is a much smaller stream. Its course is by the east side of the mountain, already described, which lies on the west of the village. It empties into the Tioga river, at the south part of the town. It is called Seeby's creek, in consequence of a number of families, by name Seeby, originally settling near it. The land east of it, on which the settlements and improvements are, is excellent.

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* Called by this name, in consequence of its being the place where the different tribes of Indians, living in this part of the country, were accustomed to assemble to hold their councils and make their treaties. Here they erected a large post, and painted it *red*; that it might more easily be known at what place to assemble. It is in the county of Steuben.

In Tioga river and in Newtown creek there are caught several kinds of fresh water fish ; viz. chub, pickerel, perch, and trout. In the river, shad are caught in the spring : also a fresh water fish called Oswego bass,* which weighs from four to twelve pounds.

Salt.

The salt used in this and the adjacent settlements, is brought in waggons from the southern part of the Seneca lake, which is eighteen miles from Newtown village. It is made at the Onondago lake, which lies twenty-seven miles north-west from the north end of Seneca lake. Within eight miles hence, the salt is brought in boats in the Seneca river, at the place where it is joined by the Scayace river ; it being no farther boatable towards the lake.† From this place it is carried to the north end of the Seneca lake in waggons, and then to the south end, a distance of forty miles, in a sloop of forty tons. The salt is much lighter, than that brought from the West Indies ; but it is in general much clearer and whiter. The salt spring is within a half mile of the Onondago lake ; the water of which is saltier than that of the ocean. “ It constantly emits water in sufficient quantity for works of any extent.” It is supposed, that there are salt springs in Newtown, about eight miles north of the village. Should this prove to be a certainty, salt works will be immediately erected there.

Price of Land.

The cleared and improved lands are as clear as they are in old settled country towns in Connecticut and Massachusetts. The new land, about six miles from the village, is from twenty to twenty-four shillings, York currency, by the acre. Lots are sold on six years credit ; and three years without interest. The quality of the land is good, and easily cleared. It affords great encouragement to those who wish to purchase new farms. There is scarcely
any

* Called by this name, because they were first caught in the Oswego river, which empties into lake Ontario.

† The Seneca river has its chief or original source in the lake of that name. It does not become boatable until it advances eight miles towards the Onondago, at the place, where it receives the Scayace river.

any cleared and improved land, except small lots in the village, for sale in the town. The country is considered very healthful.

Number of Inhabitants.

There are two thousand four hundred inhabitants in Newtown. These constitute about three hundred families. There are two hundred eighty electors. There is not a person so poor as to be supported by the town. Most of the inhabitants, except those in the village, where the greater part are mechanicks, merchants, and professional characters, are supported by agriculture. The inhabitants are rapidly multiplying every year, by new settlers. Mechanicks are wanted, especially blacksmiths and carpenters.

Mills and Distilleries.

There is as yet hardly a sufficient number of saw mills to cut the lumber which is wanted, nor of grist mills to grind the grain which is used in the town.

In the course of the present year, there is to be erected a flour mill, at the north end of Water-street, on a large and improved plan, in which flour of the best quality will be made for the southern markets.

There are seven distilleries; one of which, two miles east of the village, is on a new plan, as secured to the inventor by patent from Congress. The greater part of the spirits, which is whiskey, is sold to the inhabitants living on the Susquehannah river. Some of it is sent down to Baltimore.

Schools.

Parents are careful not to employ any but suitable persons for instructors to their children; such as are of good morals, and have an acquaintance with the rules of reading, pronunciation, and grammar. Considering there is no law in the state, pointing out the qualifications of schoolmasters, or in any way regulating common schools, the conduct of parents in Newtown, in this respect, must be considered laudable, and highly worthy of imitation.

It is probable that there will be an Academy established in Newtown village in a few years. There are several gentlemen who are now anxious to have some of their children taught the languages.

Religion.

Religion.

Rev. Daniel Thacher, a Presbyterian minister,* from the state of New-Jersey, formed a church in Newtown, about six years past. The church is very small, consisting only of about fourteen members. It was formed upon the Presbyterian plan, and upon the Westminster's confession of faith. But the majority of the people are men of liberal sentiments, and desirous of procuring a Congregational minister. They have associated accordingly for the purpose of supporting the publick privileges of the gospel. They have formed and signed a constitution, by which they have severally bound themselves to pay what they have subscribed to the minister, whom the majority of a committee, consisting of fifteen chosen for the purpose, shall procure and establish in the place. The committee are to obligate themselves to see the contract with the minister fulfilled. They do not propose to have the minister, whom they shall procure, consecrated in particular over the present church ; but to administer the ordinances to them, if they should wish it. If the male members of the present church should insist upon an acknowledgment of a belief in the Westminster's confession of faith, as an indispensable condition for admission into the church, there will undoubtedly be a new church established upon a more liberal plan : so that others, who cannot give their full assent to its articles of faith, may not, on this account, be debarred the enjoyment of ecclesiastical ordinances.

Place of Publick Worship.

The usual place for publick worship at present is the court-house. But they purpose, as soon as they can procure a clergyman whom they would wish to settle, to build a meeting-house ; to do which, the present association for the support of publick worship are abundantly able.

The western wilderness, in a civil and moral sense, is beginning to blossom like the rose.

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* Mr. Thacher was sent out a missionary by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Clergy of the United States, to preach and form churches in new settlements. He is now dead. He was said to be a pious man.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF BRIMFIELD, BY THE
AUTHOR OF THE TWO PRECEDING ARTICLES. JUNE,
1803.

B RIMFIELD lies in the county of Hampshire, Massachusetts, seventy-five miles south-west by west from Boston, and thirty-four south-east by east from Northampton, the shire town of the county.

Boundaries.

It is bounded by Worcester county twelve miles and twenty-two rods : viz. east by Sturbridge, four miles and three quarters and twenty rods ; north-east by a small corner of Brookfield, one quarter of a mile ; north by Western, seven miles and an half. It is bounded by Palmer and Monson* on the west, three miles on the former, and three miles and a quarter and forty rods on the latter ; and south by South-Brimfield and Holland, three miles and three quarters and twenty rods on the former, and two miles and three quarters and ten rods on the latter. The line between Brimfield and Sturbridge is strait : from the south to the north, it inclines $6^{\circ} . 30'$ east. From the north-east corner of the town, the separating line from Western was first west, 15° south, three miles and a quarter and two rods ; then north, 4° west, one half of a mile ; and then west, 23° north, three miles and an half ; thence on to the south, Chickope river† divides the town from Palmer for three miles, when it strikes the north-east corner of Monson ; from which, the line runs south, 5° east, which separates the town from Monson : the line on the south, which separates the town from South-Brimfield and Holland, is strait ; from the west to the east point, it inclines only about $8^{\circ} . 30'$ north.

Upon an average, the town is about six miles in length and five in breadth.

It was incorporated by the General Court, July 14th, 1731. It then included Monson, South-Brimfield, and
Holland,

* Doctor Morfe, in his American Gazetteer, has made a mistake in saying that Monson lies east of Brimfield.

† See the description and course of the river, under Streams, &c.

Holland, and part of Western, now in Worcester county. It began to be settled in the year 1701.

Soil. Wood. Produce.

The soil is much preferable to that of the adjacent towns. There is very little unimproved land in the town. There is about one thousand acres of tillage land, and upwards of eight hundred of good upland mowing.

The black and white oak is the most common wood : there is not much pine and hemlock ; but there is a considerable quantity of chefnut, butternut, birch, and maple. Firewood is growing scarce ; it is generally sold for one dollar and seventeen cents a cord in the middle of the town.

The principal part of the produce raised in the town consists in rye, corn, beans, butter, beef, and pork : the four last are most of the articles, which are carried to market. The inhabitants generally trade at Boston. Most of the farmers carry their own produce to market. There is but little wheat raised in the town, not so much as is consumed by the inhabitants. A small quantity only of cheese is made for market, and that not of the best quality. The dairies are small. There are but few large farms. The butter, which is carried to market, is generally of an excellent quality.

The inhabitants principally get their living by farming. There are but few tradesmen, not so many as are really wanted. The land naturally being fertile, and easy to improve, the inhabitants have never been distinguished for industry : the farms are poorly fenced ; and few only are under proper improvement. Double the number of inhabitants might be supported in the town by agriculture were the farms as well managed, as they are in Sturbridge, an adjacent township, where the soil is not half so good. Were the inhabitants more ambitious to excel in agriculture, and to encourage tradesmen to settle among them, the town would assume a very different aspect.

Its manufactories and publick buildings, which are necessary to render any town flourishing and respectable, have been neglected.

There have been proposals made to the inhabitants by those

those of other towns, to have turnpike roads pass through the town ; particularly the one which is already completed from Norwich to Stafford, in Connecticut, and which is to be extended to Dartmouth College ; but the proposals were not treated with much attention by the most wealthy part of the inhabitants. They act with respect to almost all publick institutions, as if they thought the property, expended upon them, was in effect thrown away.

Buildings.

There is one gin distillery, four saw mills, and four grist mills ; but none of flour in the middle of the town.

There is but one house for publick worship, which has been built upwards of sixty years. It is small and elegant. It stands on a beautiful rise of ground, in the centre of the town, gradually descending as you go from the house on every side, and subsiding after a few rods into level ground.

There are ten districts for schools, and nine school-houses ; but the school-houses are mostly out of repair. The one in the middle of the town is small, very inconvenient, and quite old : and although there are nearly one hundred scholars belonging to the district, its inhabitants cannot be convinced at present of the necessity of erecting a new one of a larger and more convenient size.

Except six two story dwelling-houses, in the middle of the town, which are finished and handsomely painted, and about twenty others in different parts of the place, the houses are small and mean. It may, however, be reasonably expected, that, in a few years, the town will appear much more respectable as to its buildings.

Streams and Ponds.

The town is well watered. Chickapee river, which has its rise in a large pond, in the south parish in Brookfield, separates Brimfield from Palmer for the distance of three miles ; it strikes the north-west corner of the town ; from which its general course is south, 16° . west, until it comes to the north-west corner of Monson, when it turns off to the west : it empties into Connecticut river in Springfield.

Quinabogue river runs through the south-east part of

the town. It rises in Union, in Connecticut, runs through Holland into Brimfield, then into Sturbridge, and so on till it empties into Thames river, near Norwich landing, Connecticut. Its course is very crooked. It runs near north, till it comes into Brimfield; then nearly east, till it gets into Sturbridge, where it takes about a south-east course.

This river receives another, about half as large, one mile and an half before it runs into Sturbridge. This latter stream is composed of several smaller streams: one from a pond, lying north from the Townplat, which runs south one mile and a quarter, and crosses the Townplat about half of a quarter mile east of the meeting-house; it then turns off, south-east, and unites after a few rods with another stream which comes from the south part of the town: these two being thus united, and constituting one stream, receive another, nearly as large as both of them, from South-Brimfield, about three quarters of a mile from the meeting-house; which being united, the course is east, two points south, until it empties into the Quinabogue, one mile and an half before it comes to the Sturbridge line, as before observed.

There are two ponds in the town: one of which, the largest, is about one mile north, $22^{\circ} 30'$ east, from the Townplat, on the road to the south parish in Brookfield. It contains about sixty acres. From it large quantities of clay are taken, with which excellent bricks are made. The other, which is called Allum Pond, in consequence of its very solid white bottom, and the water being very clear, is two miles and an half east of the Townplat: it contains about forty acres. From it a small stream runs east into Sturbridge. They both abound with the fish and eels common to fresh ponds.

Townplat, Roads, &c.

The Townplat is beautifully situated. The roads from Sturbridge, South-Brimfield, Holland, Monson, Palmer, Western, and Brookfield, all centre at, and pass through it. It is mostly surrounded by hills, at different distances and of different magnitudes. There are two roads leading from it to the northward; one to Western and to the

west

west parish in Brookfield ; and the other to the south parish in Brookfield, which is the Boston road. The former runs almost directly north for two miles, at which distance it turns off to the north-west, and from the same place there is a cross road leading to Western city, so called, which runs north one point west.

The other road, leading northward from the Townplat, runs north, $22^{\circ} . 30'$ east ; and then turns off to the north-east. The road, leading from the north-west corner of Sturbridge, comes into this road four miles from the Townplat at the south-west corner of Western. From the Townplat, for the distance of three quarters of a mile, these two northern roads are only about one quarter of a mile from each other ; but they are separated by a hill, which is very steep on the east side : they are connected by a cross road, which however is very steep, rising from the east to the west, being almost impassable for teams and carriages. The east road is very level for one mile. This is the most direct road to Boston from Monson, South-Brimfield, and Holland.

The road leading to Monson and Palmer, and through one part of Palmer to Springfield, and through another part to Northampton, &c. runs west, $22^{\circ} . 30'$ north : the meeting-house stands fronting this road, a few rods north of it.

The road to Sturbridge, &c. is east one point, or $11^{\circ} . 15'$ south.

The road to South-Brimfield, and so on to Stafford, in Connecticut, is south for three quarters of a mile, and then south, one point west : and to Holland, and so on to Union, in Connecticut, at the same place where it separates from the South-Brimfield road, is south, $1^{\circ} . 30'$ east, for one mile and three quarters, and then south one mile unto Holland, inclining in its general course half of a point to the west.

About two miles west of the Townplat, there is a large and steep eminence, called by the inhabitants, *West Mountain*, on which there is a large high rock : from this rock there is a very extensive and beautiful prospect exhibited, the neighbouring towns and their houses of worship rising to view.

Number of Inhabitants.

There are between thirteen and fourteen hundred inhabitants in the town ; among whom there is an uncommon proportion upwards of seventy years of age.

The town is considered healthful. It has proved so to the writer of this, who upon his settlement in the town was an invalid, weak and spare, but now fleshy and healthy.

There have been no very remarkable instances of longevity in the town. The most remarkable, which has ever happened, was Mr. Joseph Morgan : he died in the winter of 1798, aged ninety-five. He retained his mental faculties, and his bodily powers, to the last hour of his life : his memory was very tenacious : he could relate with precision things and events which took place in his youth.

There have only two hundred and eighty persons died in the town for fourteen years past, ending December 31st, 1802. The population of the town does not increase, on account of the spirit of emigration, which has prevailed among the inhabitants for several years past. Within about four years, nearly forty families have removed into the new settlements at the westward. Were it not for this, and the want of some enterprising and publick-spirited men, with some more industrious tradesmen and farmers, the place would soon become one of the most flourishing and beautiful towns in the county, except a few of those on Connecticut river.

Literary Characters.

The town has not been distinguished for many characters of extensive erudition. There have been four ministers of publick education ordained over the church and congregation in the town, memoirs of whom shall hereafter be given.

Hon. Timothy Danielson, Esq. was distinguished as a literary and publick character. He was a brigadier-general, a justice throughout the Commonwealth, and a senator for the county of Hampshire, during a number of years. He was educated at Yale College, and graduated in the year 1756. He studied divinity, and preached one sermon only, and that for the Rev. Mr. Bridgham of this town.

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He died September 19th, 1791. His widow, who was left young and in affluent circumstances, married Capt. William Eaton, late consul from the United States to the kingdom of Tunis. Capt. Eaton is a gentleman of liberal education, and distinguished talents. He was educated at Dartmouth College.

Abner Morgan and Stephen Pyncheon, Esqrs. attorneys at law, are gentlemen of liberal education : the former was educated at Harvard College, and the latter at Yale College.

Mr. Abner Stebbins educated a son at Yale College, who was a tutor there for several years : he is now an attorney at law, in New-Milford, Lincoln county, District of Maine.

Dr. Joseph Moffett educated his eldest son at Dartmouth. He is now settled as a physician in Danville, Vermont.

Deacon Ebenezer Fairbanks educated a son at Yale College, who is now and has been for several years a licensed candidate preacher.

Deacon Jonathan Morgan has given a publick education to an only son : he graduated at Union College last May.

Mr. Caleb Sherman, whose parents are dead, will graduate at Providence College the next commencement.

Schools.

It has been too much the custom in this town, as it has been in several other country towns, to hire cheap schoolmasters. This being the general principle, upon which the committees of districts proceed, it cannot reasonably be expected, that proper persons should always be engaged as instructors. Add to this, that there is no one school taught through the year, and no one kept in the summer season, except by young women for little girls and boys, and also that the selectmen of the town, and the committees of districts, are altogether negligent of their duty in visiting the schools and causing the scholars to be examined ; the consequence must be, that in all such schools there must be great deficiency. But notwithstanding all this neglect and delinquency, the schools are under much better regulations than they were a few years past.

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Most of the instructors, who are employed in the winter season, have a general acquaintance with grammar and arithmetick, and also a general knowledge of the rules of reading, pronunciation, and of the other branches, taught in our common English schools. It is to be hoped, and it may reasonably be expected, that a much greater attention will yet be paid to the schools, and consequently to the morals and abilities of those whom they shall employ as teachers.

Libraries.

There was a library established in town near thirty years past; a considerable part of which consisted in old school divinity; the books are mostly worn out, and many of them wholly destroyed. There have been no additions made to it for several years: the present proprietors pay little or no attention to the rules and restrictions upon which it was originally established.

About four years past, a new one was established; the proprietors of which are incorporated, according to an act of the Legislature provided for the incorporation of such associations. It consists of upwards of one hundred volumes judiciously selected. But it is painful to observe this very useful and laudable establishment finding but little encouragement from the wealthiest part of the town. Hence it must be inferred, that publick institutions are not much encouraged by charitable donations.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The church records having been destroyed, during the ministry of Rev. Mr. Bridgham, at the time his house was burned, it cannot be ascertained when the church was gathered, nor when the first minister was ordained.

Rev. Richard Treat was the first settled minister. He was dismissed from his pastoral relation to the church, March 25, 1734.

Rev. James Bridgham, a native of Boston, was his successor. He was ordained June 9, 1736. He was graduated at Harvard College, in 1726. He died Sept. 17, 1776, aged 69. He was said to possess moderate powers of elocution, but extensive learning.

Rev. Nehemiah Williams, who was also an alumnus
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of Harvard College in 1769, was ordained colleague with Mr. Bridgham, Feb. 9, 1775. He died Nov. 16, 1796. During the latter part of his ministry, he suffered somewhat through the disaffection of part of his flock, who employed as preachers illiterate itinerants. But he uniformly sustained the character of a pious and learned minister, and was highly respected by all his acquaintances. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences ; and a volume of his sermons, since his death, has been given to the publick. It is to be hoped, that the grave of this respected minister will not be neglected, like that of Rev. Mr. Bridgham, which, for want of a stone, cannot be found.

Rev. Clark Brown, who was first ordained over a congregation at Machias, (Maine,) having obtained a dismission thence, was installed in Brimfield, June 20, 1798.

In the February preceding, a council convened for the purpose of installing Mr. Brown. After sitting one or two days, it dissolved itself without accomplishing the object for which it was formed.

Soon after Mr. Brown's installation, several persons in Brimfield, who opposed his settlement, applied to the association of neighbouring ministers for advice. They advised to the calling of a mutual council. This measure was not acceded to on the part of the town. The minority called an ex parte council, which advised them to renew attempts for a mutual council. In case of a second failure, they were to apply to three neighbouring churches to establish them, "The christian congregational church of Brimfield." The advice was carefully followed ; and the minority were accordingly in this manner constituted a church of the above mentioned description.

The male members of Mr. Brown's church at his installation were eighteen. The minority consisted of thirteen only. In the major church there are now twenty-six male members ; in the minor church there are only ten.

In the spring of 1801 the town voted, in consequence of repeated applications from the minority, consent that a mutual council should be called, and that Mr. Brown, if he thought proper, should unite in the measure. The council was called. It was found to contain, when convened,

vened, a majority of three who were chosen by the minority. The council proceeded to business, resulted, and advised Mr. B. to ask a dismissal from his pastoral office. He complied with the advice; but the town at a legal meeting refused to grant his request.

Both before and after the sitting of this council, an opinion prevailed in the minority, that they were not severally holden legally to pay their proportion of Mr. Brown's salary. Under the influence of this opinion an individual of the minority, a member of the new church, and of reputable estate, on being called upon to pay his ministerial tax, refused, denying that he possessed any property. The collector carried him to jail. Unable to get freedom without paying his tax, he paid it with the cost, and commenced prosecution against the assessors for illegal taxation. The town defended the suit. At the Court of Common Pleas, he made no effort to support his cause, which of course failed. He appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court, where by the aid of three attorneys he attempted to prove the illegality of the tax. The Court however would not suffer the case to go to the jury, but unanimously gave it against the plaintiff. Nearly four hundred dollars were expended in this suit, of which none of the minority, the plaintiff excepted, is legally holden to pay any part.

Thus has ended the legal contest between the town and the minority. And it is hoped, that, as Mr. B. intends soon to take a peaceable dismissal from his charge, which there is the highest probability of his being able to do, the town will no more be agitated by ecclesiastical controversy; and that the inhabitants will cultivate for each other that charity, which is the brightest ornament of Christians.

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A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF WATERFORD, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK. BY REV. LINCOLN RIPLEY. AUGUST, 1803.

Situation and Limits:

WATERFORD is an inland town in the county of York, district of Maine. It lies between 44° . and 44° . $8'$. north latitude, and between 70° . $35'$. and 70° . $45'$. west longitude from London. It is distant seventy miles north from York, twenty north-east from the Academy at Fryeburg, forty-five north-west from Portland, and fifty west from Bowdoin College in Brunswick. It is bounded north by Oxford and Norway, east by Norway and part of Otisfield; south-east by Otisfield, south by Bridgeton, south-west by Lovell, west by the same, and north-west by part of the state lands. The town was originally seven miles and a half long, and seven wide. It was laid out in the year 1774 by Capt. Joseph Frye, of Fryeburg, Mr. Jabez Brown, of Stow, and Mr. -----, of Marlborough. When the town was incorporated, March 2, 1797, three tiers of lots, each containing one hundred and sixty acres, were annexed to other tracts of land, which together compose the promising town of Norway, in the county of Cumberland. Since this separation, Waterford is seven miles long, extending from north to south, 25° . east, and six miles in width.

History of first Settlements:

On the 10th of October, 1775, Mr. David Mc. Quain, a young man from Bolton, having by his industry obtained about one hundred and fifty dollars, boldly ventured into the wilderness, and took up his residence in the easterly part of Waterford with no companion but his dog. His first purchase was one lot of land, for which he gave forty dollars. On the approach of winter he retreated to the milder regions whence he came. In the spring, 1776, he revisited his lonely cottage. Again he sought winter quarters in the circle of his connexions; but in the spring of 1777, he left all his former acquaintances, became a stea-

dy cultivator of his own soil, and has never since revisited the place of his nativity. As the wilderness around him was a residence for moose, bears, and deer, he could generally obtain a supply of some kind of venison. After raising domestick animals, having no household furniture, except a pail, a dish, and a spoon, his method of scalding his pork, was to fill a trough with water, and then to put in heated stones, until the water would scald.

Mr. Mc. Quain continues in a state of celibacy, without any female person in his house, or any housekeeper but himself. He now owns eight hundred acres of land in one body, besides some outlands. He improves one hundred and sixty acres, and keeps forty head of cattle. His cows would afford a profitable dairy, if he had a dairy woman ; but at present he finds it most advantageous to give the milk to his hogs ; and in the year 1802, he fattened no less than thirty-three hundred weight of good pork. He has a flourishing orchard, whose fruit yields plenty of cider for himself and his labourers, besides many generous draughts for those who visit him. Necessary attention to his house and farm has confined him generally at home, and prevented a disposition to seek society abroad. Notwithstanding the peculiar disadvantages of his solitary condition, he has acquired by honest industry a handsome property, and pays almost double the taxes of any of his townsmen.

Five or six years after Mr. Mc. Q. settled in Waterford, three other men came hither with their families ; but unable to support their families comfortably in the wilderness, they found it expedient to tread back their steps to an inhabited country. One of the same families again made a fruitless attempt to become naturalized to the place. In May, 1783, Messrs. Daniel Barker, Jonathan Robbins, Israel Hale, Asaph Brown, Europe Hamlin, and America Hamlin, with a few others, without any families, but with enterprizing spirits, came and boldly pitched their wooden tents among the trees, and on their several lots, began to expose to full view of the sun the uncultivated soil. Most of them, in two or three years, introduced their families to participate with them in their toils and hopeful prospects. The greater part of them retain
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their first inheritance, and some of them liberally enjoy the well earned fruits of their early labours.

On the 8th of September in the same year, Mr. Phillip Hor, originally from Taunton, last from Brookfield, came into town to seek a lot of land, which he had previously bought. The next June, two of his sons came with him to make preparation for the removal of his family. On the approach of winter he returned to Brookfield, leaving his sons to brave the severities of a long winter in the wilderness, or to let themselves in some more inhabited town, to procure necessaries for the ensuing season. In June, 1785, Mr. Hor, with more courage than property, returned to Waterford with his wife, who originated from Norton, and with the remainder of his family. Urged by necessity, prompted by sense of duty, and supported by the consolations of religion, this pious couple with six children passed through almost incredible scenes of suffering. The principal part of their household effects was brought several miles on the shoulders of those, who conducted them from Bridgeton to this place. Disappointed of provision previously engaged, and of a log-hut in which they were to have lived one season on a plat of ground not their own, they were obliged to shelter themselves in a cottage, whose floor and covering consisted of the bark of trees. This was their only habitation during the space of nearly two years. For a whole year they were destitute of even a cow. Their nearest neighbour in the summer season was three miles distant; and six weeks of the following winter passed, in which the family saw no human being beside themselves. A dog was the only domestick animal they possessed, and on his fidelity in some measure depended their safety. At Bridgeton was the nearest corn mill. To obtain meal therefore, they had either to carry grain on their backs twelve miles, or first travel that distance to borrow an horse, carry their grain the next day, and on the third day return their horse. Having received a religious education, it was a serious trial to them to be deprived of the publick ministration of the gospel. For some time, Mrs. Hor was the only inhabitant of Waterford, who was in full communion with any christian church. Her husband and two sons, who first came to
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the town, have since gladdened her heart by becoming members of the same body : and the joy she has expressed on beholding the divine word and ordinances here statedly administered, bore some resemblance to that of good old Simeon, when he embraced the infant Saviour.

Three months after the arrival of this family, Mr. Oliver Hapgood and wife emigrated hither from Stow. Their eldest son and first child was the first ever known, by the present inhabitants, to have been born in Waterford. To this child was given, as a birth privilege, a tract of land containing fifty acres, which now awaits his age of manhood, and which, lying near the centre of the town, promises a pleasant and valuable settlement. In March, 1786, Messrs. Nathaniel Chamberlain and John Chamberlain came into town from Westford.

Face of the Country, Soil, Produce, and Exports.

The land in Waterford, like that in the adjacent towns, is uneven. It may properly be called a land of hills and vallies. The hills however are not so high, as to be unfit for cultivation. Rising gradually, they afford pleasant prospects, and, with the vallies, are calculated for good settlements. The timber on what is usually termed hard-wood-land principally consists of beech, birch, rock and white maple, red oak, and white ash. On the low, or, what is commonly called, black land, the timber is chiefly white and Norway pine, spruce, and hemlock.

Having no thermometer, except what nature has furnished in the sensibility of the human frame, we are unable to form an exact comparison between the state of the climate here, and that in the vicinity of Boston. The probability is, that there are a few days in the year, in which both heat and cold are more intense in this place, than in either Boston or Worcester.

Contrary to the opinion formerly entertained of this part of the country, the soil is fertile ; and by judicious culture amply rewards the labours of the husbandman. The land is good for all kinds of grain raised in New-England, though it is not so friendly to the growth of wheat, as the more level land, which lies in the neighbourhood of large rivers. The upland yields to the mower a desirable

able burden, and to the cattle excellent grazing. Fruit trees of different kinds are cultivated with success. Many might begin to make cider, if the expense of mills, and the demand for apples to be otherwise used, did not prevent them. But the ambition of the people, and the numerous and flourishing young orchards in town afford reason to hope, that we shall soon have a competency of both apples and cider.

Potatoes of various kinds and of a good quality are here made profitable for man and beast. There is scarcely a better soil in any part of New-England for the cultivation of esculent roots and herbs. A taste for ordinary horticulture is not uncommon among us ; and though we live at a distance from market, there are several persons, who begin to make their gardens profitable to their families, and also to raise a surplussage of vegetables for their less favoured neighbours.

In good seasons some of the inhabitants make their own sugar, molasses, and vinegar of the juice of the maple. As the land becomes more cultivated, they are more dependent on the W. I. islands. It is an unfavourable circumstance, that the first growth of maple, as also of other trees, does not extend its roots into the earth sufficiently deep, to secure the trees when they become exposed to heavy winds. To remedy this disadvantage in regard to future generations, it becomes the present cultivators of the soil, to set out young orchards of maple trees in the most convenient places, having care to preserve such a distance between the trees, as that the depth of the roots may ordinarily ensure their safety.

Beside the timber, of which no small quantity is annually rafted down the river, articles of exportation, from which some profit is derived and more expected, are, beef, pork, butter, cheese, rye, indian-corn, hops, onions, sale-shoes, barrels, and firkins. To this list potash might have been lately added, but the making of it is at present neglected.

River, Streams, Ponds, and Canal.

The unevenness of our land occasions numerous springs and brooks. Generally the town in this respect is highly favoured. There are here also thirteen ponds, which not
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only variegate the scenery of the place, but afford plenty of fish, of which the most delicate kinds are the pike and salmon trout. Through the north and east sides of the town runs the Songo or Crooked river, on both whose sides are valuable lots of timber. What renders this river a peculiar privilege is, timber is drawn on to it when frozen in the winter, and in the spring conducted down the current into the great Sabago pond, and thence to the Sacarappa mills, near Portland.

The most important benefit however, relative to water carriage, is the opening of a canal from the centre of this town to Portland, which the people of Waterford contemplate as an event, that will probably take place not many years hence. The situation of the ponds is highly favourable to such an enterprize. As neither the exact distance of the course, which the canal must take, nor the descent of ground has been ascertained; and as they, who are best acquainted with these circumstances, are wholly unacquainted with the history of canals, no person has ventured to make an estimate of the expense of the undertaking. It has however been conjectured that fifty thousand dollars would effect it. It is almost certain that such a plan, whenever it shall be accomplished, will increase the number of saw-mills in Waterford, and give the inhabitants opportunity of sawing their own timber; will multiply the sources and facilitate the operations of trade; enhance the value of our lands; and greatly conduce to the population and prosperity of the town.

Arts, Artificers, and Curiosities.

There have been three brick-yards in the place; but the clay of the oldest is now exhausted. There is yet reason to expect a supply, and perhaps longer experience in the art of brick-making will augment the *apparent* value of our bricks.

Lime-kilns are not yet known among us. A kind of stone has been noticed, which bears some resemblance to limestone; but none that is genuine has been found. Neither are there here any coal-beds, except such as are made by the process of fire; and the furrows of the field, and the labours of honest commonwealthsmen are the richest mines
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and minerals, which are known in the vicinity. To these sources of health and independence all classes of people are cordially invited.

There is a general supply of mechanicks in town. A saddler, hatter, and clothier are exceptions. For ingenious men, who are willing to live by their professions, there is still encouragement in many of the common arts.

There is at present one tavern keeper only in town. Other inhabitants occasionally entertain travellers.

In one of the ponds there is found a white clay of a yellowish cast, which, when burned, baked, or only dried, makes good chalk. Carpenters prefer it on account of its softness to that which is imported. Whether it may not be converted into whiting and made an useful ingredient in paints; or whether pipes, or porcelain may not be made of it is yet to be determined.

Roads.

It is but justice to remark, that the inhabitants have distinguished themselves by a laudable ambition to make the roads through town convenient for themselves and comfortable for travellers. The sum of five hundred dollars is annually appropriated to the mending of high-ways; and their appearance is in some measure characteristick of the industrious disposition of the people.

Militia.

In the autumn of 1799 the militia of this town were called upon to choose their first officers, and, in conformity to the laws of our country, to commence their annual military exercises. They accordingly assembled on the common, and amicably elected Dr. Stephen Cummings, captain, Mr. Seth Wheeler, lieutenant, and Mr. James Robbins, ensign, of their company. After the inferior officers were chosen, a respectable company of able bodied soldiers, consisting of seventy-two rank and file, appeared before the door of Mr. Eli Longley, where, by the desire of the captain, a prayer was made by the pastor of the parish.

In September, 1801, a company of horse was formed from
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the militia companies of Bridgeton and Waterford, under Captain Kimball, Lieutenant Robbins, and Cornet Smith.

Number of Families, rateable Polls, and Houses.

On the first of May, 1801, there were in Waterford one hundred and three families, and six hundred and five inhabitants. May 1, 1803, there were one hundred and eleven families, one hundred and forty-five rateable polls, and six hundred and sixty-eight souls. The number of rateable polls, in March 1786, was fourteen.

The number of dwelling houses in town is one hundred and seven. Six of them are of two stories, eighty-six low framed, and fifteen are log houses. Some of the second class of houses are small, others are ordinary, and there is not a finished house in the place. There are about eighty framed barns ; and a building has been lately erected for a store.

Civil Officers. Professional Men. Learning.

Of the original proprietors Mr. Nathaniel Chamberlain, now merchant in Portland, was clerk. The first select men, after the town was incorporated, were Lieut. Africa Hamlin, who was likewise the first town-clerk, and Messrs. Daniel Chaplin, and Solomon Stone. These men were appointed assessors also, and took the first valuation of the town. Mr. Eli Longley was the first town-treasurer. The first justice of the peace, who received his commission in 1799, was Eber Rice, Esq. ; and the first deputy sheriff, Mr. Hannibal Hamlin.

No attorney has hitherto become an inhabitant of the town ; but one of an academick education is soon expected. We have two physicians, though the place is generally considered remarkably healthful. The only person of a collegiate education in town is the writer of this, who was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1796.

As the original inhabitants, and indeed a large proportion of the present inhabitants, emigrated from the counties of Worcester and Middlesex, they, like their ancestors, are emulous of educating properly the rising generation. To further an object of such immense importance, the town has already built no less than six school-houses. In-
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stead of employing instructors and instructresses, who themselves have need to be instructed in the first principles of literature, the town begins to pay strict regard to the laws of the commonwealth respecting the qualifications of male and female teachers, and the inspection of schools. It has also adopted an uniform selection of school books for its children and youth, who manifest laudable ambition to understand the English language, and to profit by their advantages.

Religion, House of Worship, &c.

Although many new settlements in this part of the country abound with sectaries, there has hitherto been no appearance of more than one religious society in Waterford, which is Congregational. A few individuals profess themselves Baptists; but the serious of these, so far from trying to cause divisions among their fellow christians, seem disposed to attend constantly on the publick institutions of religion with the Congregationalists.

Not many candidates for the ministry were employed as preachers in Waterford, before its inhabitants invited their present pastor to settle among them. For his pecuniary encouragement they offered him fifty pounds settlement, in addition to a right of land reserved by the proprietors for that purpose, and an annual salary, which, for a new town, was decent. This invitation was accepted by the pastor elect, who was accordingly ordained Oct. 2, 1799. The ministers of the ordaining council were Rev. William Fessenden, of Fryeburg; Rev. Ezra Ripley, of Concord; Rev. Nathan Church, of Bridgeton; Rev. Samuel Hidden, of Tamworth; Rev. Daniel Marrett, of Standish; and Rev. John Simpkins, of Brewster.

Previously to the ordination, a church was embodied, consisting of eight male members, who received into their fellowship their pastor elect by recommendation from the church in Barrè. Eleven other men were admitted into the church at the same time. Oct. 11, the church held a meeting, and unanimously chose for their deacons Messrs. John Nurse, Stephen Jewett, and Ephraim Chamberlain. On the 20th of the same month, after the admission of four female members, the Lord's supper was, for the first

time, administered to the church of Christ in Waterford. In addition to the twenty members forming the church at the time of ordination, before the close of the same year, 1799, twenty-five other persons became members. Of these seven were previously members of other churches. The church received an addition of nine members in 1800, and of nine more in 1801. Some of these persons had been communicants in other churches. No addition has been made to the church since 1801; but she has lost three by death and two by removal: her present number is therefore fifty-eight.

In the year 1801 a good frame, 50 by 46 feet, was erected for a meeting-house in the centre of the town. In the summer of 1802 it was covered and enclosed, and it will probably be completed by the middle of October next. The pew ground has been sold for more than two thousand dollars. Three thousand dollars perhaps will meet the whole expense of finishing the house.

Baptisms. Marriages. Deaths.

Before the settlement of a minister, twelve children and youths had been baptized in the place by missionaries and neighbouring clergymen. In 1799, after ordination the pastor baptized thirty-seven persons, one of whom was forty years old. There have often been three and four, and in one instance there were nineteen children, presented for baptism at once. The number of baptisms in 1800 was twenty-one; in 1801, fourteen; in 1802, seven; and hitherto in the present year, three. All the baptisms, since the town was inhabited, amount to ninety-four. Though it is matter of joyful reflexion, that so many in a new town have been initiated into Christ's visible church, it is yet a melancholy truth, that a far greater number of persons remain unbaptized.

Twelve marriages also had been solemnized in town previously to Oct. 2, 1799. Since that period, there have been married nineteen couples. The whole number of marriages, 31.

It appears by our bills of mortality, that fifty-four persons have died in Waterford since its first settlement. In the winter 1797, 8, the place was more sickly through the prevalence

prevalence of the canker, than it ever has been with any disease. The number of children and young persons, who died that winter, is said to be thirteen. Since the commencement of the year 1799, the number of deaths annually has been as follows : In 1799, six ; in 1800, four ; in 1801, six ; in 1802, five ; and since the beginning of the current year, five ; the whole number twenty-six. Of this number twelve were young children and infants ; five youths ; four middleaged persons ; four past the meridian of life ; and one upwards of three-score and ten years. During the four last years more persons, who have reached and exceeded the meridian of life, appear to have fallen victims to consumption, than to any other disease. Several infants have died with fits ; but among children and young people, the canker, accompanied sometimes with other complaints, has been the most prevalent and fatal disorder.

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CHRONOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF
DORCHESTER, BY REV. T. M. HARRIS.

IN giving an account of Dorchester, I propose beginning with some particulars respecting the first settlement and subsequent history of the town, extracted from authentick records, and recited principally in the words of those who relate the facts ; next describe the ancient boundaries and present situation of the town, interspersed with such topographical remarks as seem worthy of notice ; and then furnish some brief biographical anecdotes of the former ministers, and others, whose talents and virtues claim a grateful remembrance.

Should it be thought that the narration is tediously minute and incidents related which are quite trivial, I would observe that every particular in the early records of our country is important to the historian, and helps in delineating the features of its primitive character ; whilst to the inhabitants of the town itself the more circumstantial the account the more interesting and entertaining will it prove.

Chronology.

Chronology.

In the beginning of the year 1630 a Congregational Church was gathered in the new hospital at Plymouth in Great-Britain of persons who intended to come to North America for the purpose of enjoying greater religious and civil privileges. They observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer to seek divine approbation and assistance. In the after part of the day, they chose and called those godly ministers, Rev. John Warham, a famous preacher at Exeter, and Rev. John Maverick, who lived forty miles from Exeter, to be their spiritual guides ; who expressed their acceptance, and were separated to the special care of the intended emigrants. Rev. Mr. John White of Dorchester, in Dorset, who was an active instrument in promoting the settlement of New-England, and had been the means of procuring the charter, being present, preached in the fore part of the day ; and in the latter part the new installed pastors performed.

They set sail on the 30th of March following, in a vessel of four hundred tons, Captain Squeb, master ; and on Lord's day, May 30th, arrived at Nantasket, where the captain put them ashore, notwithstanding his engagement was to bring them up Charles river. Here they were "left in a forlorn wilderness, destitute of any habitation, and most other necessaries of life."* Some of them, however, had the good fortune to procure a boat of an old planter, and went over to Charlestown, but met with poor accommodations there, and no encouragement to tarry ; for, "though they saw several wigwams, they found but one Englishman in a house, where they ate a boiled bass, but no bread."† They returned therefore to the boat, and, taking an Indian interpreter, went up the river to where it grows narrow and shallow,‡ and there, with much labour and difficulty, landed their goods, the bank being very steep. At first their fears were greatly alarmed by being informed that three hundred Indians were encamped near them. There sent immediately their interpreter

* Blake's manuscript Annals.

† Prince's Chronology, page 207.

‡ To a place since called Watertown.

terpreter to persuade the natives not to molest them, and to assure them of their own pacifick intentions. "The next morning, when the Indians appeared, they offered no violence, but sent some of their number holding out a bafs, and our people sent a man to meet them with a biscuit, and so they exchanged, not only then, but afterwards, a biscuit for a bafs: and the Indians were very friendly to them, which our people ascribed to *God's watchful Providence over them in their weak beginnings*. All the company had not come up the river, but only ten men to seek out the way for the rest. Those who tarried behind were to take care of the cattle they had brought, and prevent them from wandering and being lost in the wilderness. Those who had gone in quest of a place to settle on, did not tarry away but a few days, during which time the rest of the company had found out a neck of land joining to a place by the Indians called *Mattapan*, that was a fit place to turn their cattle upon, with less danger of their straying; and so they sent to their friends to return."* Accordingly they repaired to that place, and began a settlement about the beginning of June. They named the place *Dorchester*, "because several of the settlers came from a town of that name in England, and also in honour of Rev. Mr. White of Dorchester."† This name was sanctioned "by order of the Court of assistants held at Charlestown, September 7, 1630,"‡ and the town was then regularly incorporated.

Here, also, the natives were kind to them.§

This settlement was formed a month or two before Governor Winthrop, and the people that came in ships with him, arrived at Charlestown; so that Dorchester is the oldest town in the Massachusetts colony except Salem and Charlestown.||

* Elder Blake's MS. Annals.

† Ib.

‡ Prince's Chronology, page 249.

§ Captain Clap's memoirs. The manuscript of these memoirs, in the hand-writing of Capt. Roger Clap, was furnished Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston, by Mr. Blake of Dorchester, and is published in a small pamphlet. It contains some of the most affecting and interesting particulars of the early settlers of our country.

|| *Shawmut*, afterwards called *Blaxton's neck*, and since *Boston*, was not settled till the spring after by Governor Winthrop and his people. Ferd. Gorges' Descript. of N. Eng. p. 29. edit. 4to. 1659.

“ The first inhabitants of Dorchester came chiefly from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somersetshire. They were a very godly and religious people; and many of them persons of note and figure, being dignified with the title of *Mr.* which but few in those days were. Some of the principal men were Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Glover, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Gallope, Mr. Hull, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Hill, Capt. Southcote, Capt. Lovell, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Pinney, Mr. Richards, Mr. Wey, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Tilley. Among them came also Capt. Roger Clap, a very worthy, religious gentleman, then a young man. It seems that many of these people were trading men, and at first designed Dorchester for a place of commerce. Accordingly they built a fort upon Rock-hill, wherein were several pieces of ordonnance, near the water side; but the channel being poor, and the landing difficult, and Boston and Charlestown harbour being far more commodious, they desisted from that design, and many of them removed afterwards to Boston and other places; so that many families about in the country had their first rise from Dorchester.”*

“ These first settlers set down pretty thick together at the northerly end of the town, next the aforesaid neck of land, and on the easterly side near the sea.”§

“ The two first years were spent in working themselves into settlements, and incorporating into a body to carry on the affairs of the plantation; in granting parcels of land and meadows, some to each family; their homesteads being their own option.”† The many great straits and difficulties with which they met, are thus pathetically described by Captain Clap: ‡ “ O the *hunger* that many suffered, and saw no hope in the eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, and muscles, and fish. We did quietly build boats, and some went a fishing; but *bread* was with many a scarce thing, and *flesh* of all kind as scarce. And in those days, in our straits, though I cannot say God sent a raven to feed *us* as he did the prophet Elijah, yet this I can say to the praise of God’s glory, that he sent not only poor ravenous Indians, which came with their baskets of
corn

* Blake.

§ ib.

† Blake.

‡ Page 16.

corn on their backs to trade with us, which was a good supply unto many ; but also sent ships from Holland and from Ireland with provisions, and indian corn from Virginia, to supply the wants of his dear servants in this wilderness, both for food and raiment. And, when people's wants were great, not only in one town, but divers towns, such was the godly wisdom, care and prudence, (not selfishness, but self-denial) of our governour Winthrop and his assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be bought *for a general stock* ; and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town and to every person in each town as every man had need. Thus God was pleased to care for his people in times of straits, and to fill his servants with food and gladness. Then did all the servants of God bless his holy name, and love one another with pure hearts fervently."

" March, 1632, Mr. Maverick, drying a little powder, it took fire by the heat of the pan, fired a small barrel of 2 or 3 pounds, and yet did no other harm but singe his clothes. It was in the new meeting house, which was thatched, and the thatch only blacked a little."||

Most of the houses here, in those early times, were built of logs and covered with thatch ; and a reservation of a peice of marsh, where thatch was cut, was made by the proprietors for the free use of the inhabitants.*

" At the Court in August, 1632, two of Chickatabott's men were convicted of assaulting some English of Dorchester in their houses, &c. They were sentenced to be put in the bilboes, and Chickatabott required to beat them, which he did."†

" One Henry Wey of Dorchester, who had gone in a shallop to trade with the eastern Indians the winter before, and was long missing, this summer (1632) it was found that himself and his company were all treacherously killed by the Indians. Another shallop of his, being sent out in the spring to seek after that, was cast away at Agamenticus, and two of the men that were in her were drowned."

|| Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 33.

* Town Records.

† Blake.

ed.”§ Upon which governour Winthrop makes this remark, “Thus oftentimes he that is greedy of gain troubles his own house; and, instead of acquiring a little pelf of this world, loses his own life in the conclusion: which hath been observed as very remarkable on many who have followed that course of life.”

“1633. July 24, a ship arrived with about eighty passengers, and twelve kine, which set down at Dorchester.”||

This year the plantation began the practice of choosing men that we now call *Selectmen*. They elected four, who were to have their monthly meetings to order the affairs of the settlement, and their orders being confirmed by the plantation were of full force and binding upon all the inhabitants.—There were many orders this year concerning cattle, fences, &c. and penalties annexed; besides many grants of land. These were signed by John Maverick, John Warham, William Rockwell, and William Gayland.*

The same year a fort was built at Rock Hill, and the charge ordered to be paid by rate.

In September Mr. John Oldham, who was afterwards killed by the Pequod Indians, and Samuel Hall, who died at Malden in Essex 1680, and two others, travelled from this town through the wilderness to Connecticut to view the country and trade with the Indians. The sachem upon the river made them most welcome, and gave them a present of beaver. They found that the Indian hemp grew spontaneously in the meadows in great abundance: They purchased a quantity of it, and upon trial it appeared much superiour to the English. They, also, brought back on their return some black-lead ore, of which the the Indians said there was a whole quarry.† The flattering accounts which they gave of this part of the country induced a number to go there in the summer of 1635. They settled upon a place called by the Indians *Mattaneang* or *Ouschankamang*, and called it Windsor.‡ There they made

§ Hubbard's MS. History.

|| Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 51.

* Blake.

† I have now by me a specimen of stibium, of superiour fineness, found in the neighbourhood of Hartford.

‡ Hubbard's MS.

made preparations for the reception of their families, and for forming a permanent settlement.|| But governour Bradford wrote to them, complaining of their conduct as injurious to the people at Plymouth, who had made a fair purchase of the Indians, taken a prior possession, and erected a trading house. Many remonstrances of this kind were afterwards repeated. Application for redress was also made to the governour of Massachusetts. The Plymouth people demanded a sixteenth part of the lands, and one hundred pounds in money, as a compensation; but the emigrants would not comply with their demands. There appeared, however, to be so much justice in making them some "compensation for the purchase they had made and the good service they had done in defending that part of the country against the Indians and the Dutch, that, sometime after, the freeholders of Windsor gave them fifty pounds, forty acres of meadow, and a large tract of upland, for their satisfaction."*

The removal of Dorchester people to Windsor is said to have been disagreeable to their ministers; but, as their whole church, and most of the congregation determined upon going, they at length consented to accompany them. However, Mr. Maverick died in the spring (Feb. 3, 1636) before the preparations were made for his removal. Mr. Wareham went in September, but did not judge it expedient to remove his family until better accommodations could be made for their reception. The

|| Connecticut, says *Chalmers* [Polit. Annals,] was settled by emigrants from the vicinity of Boston. Actuated by the restless spirit of the times, these men had determined to remove as early as the year 1634; and they applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for permission to go in quest of new adventures in a better land. But, owing to a division in that body with regard to the propriety of the measure they did not now obtain their desires. Yet they could not be satisfied till they had accomplished their intention, and had obtained leave of the court. For it was the general sense that the inhabitants were all bound to one another by the oath of a freeman, as well as the original compact, so as not to be at liberty to separate without the consent of the whole."

For farther particulars see Douglass' Summary, Vol. ii. p. 159. Neal's N. Eng. Vol. i. p. 164. Hutchinson, Vol. i. p. 44. and Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut.

* Gov. Winthrop's Journal, Gov. Wolcott's MS. and Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut.

The emigration consisted of about one hundred men, women, and children, mostly from Dorchester, joined by a few from Newtown† and Watertown. They were fourteen days performing the tedious journey through the wilderness. On their arrival they began their settlement on the west side of Connecticut river not far from the mouth of Scantic river.‡

These adventurers were put to great straits after their arrival. The provisions they took with them were nearly exhausted before they arrived. The crops they raised were small, for they had cleared but very little of the ground for tillage; besides, most of their time had been necessarily devoted to the construction of huts against the winter. The winter came on early, and was very severe. They were reduced to extremity; and were obliged to subsist upon "acorns, and malt, and grains." Their cattle, also, unsheltered and poorly fed, suffered so much, that "the greatest part of them died; but some which came late, and could not be put over the river, lived very well all the winter without any hay."||

But, though these circumstances, and fear of the Indians, for some time retarded the settlement, Mr. Wareham lived to see the great increase of the little colony of christians with whom he had crossed the Atlantick, and traversed the wilderness, and died 1670.

After the departure of the first settlers, "there was an essay towards gathering a new church in Dorchester, April 1, 1636; but as the messengers of the churches convened for the purpose were not satisfied concerning some that were intended members of that foundation, the work was deferred until August 23, when a church was constituted according

† Since called Cambridge.

‡ The names of those who came with Mr. Wareham, and were in full communion with the church, were Henry Wolcott, Esq. William Phelps, John Whitefield, Humphrey Pinney, Deacon John Moore, Deacon William Gayland, Lieut. Walter Filer, Matthew Grant, Thomas Dibble, Samuel Phelps, Nathan Gillet, Richard Vose, Abraham Randal, Bagot Eglestone, George Phelps and Thomas Ford. Of the congregation were Roger Ludlow, Esq. Thomas Stoughton, Capt. John Mason, Isaac Sheldon, Bray Rossiter, and several others.

|| Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 98. He adds, "they lost near £.2000 worth of cattle.

according to the order of the Gospel, by confession and profession of faith, and Rev. Mr. Richard Mather was chosen teacher.”*

At this period the records of the church begin ; and they not only contain many minute particulars respecting the discipline of its own members, and entries of admissions, deaths, baptisms, &c. but, as Mr. Mather was a very eminent man and employed at all the synods, councils, and ordinations in the province, the annals of the church of Dorchester, during the time of his ministry, more than thirty years, are a brief ecclesiastical history of this part of the country.

“ At a court holden at Dorchester this year (1636) it was ordered that every town should keep a watch and be well supplied with ammunition. The constables were directed to warn the watches in their turns, and to make it their care that they should be kept according to the direction of the court. They also were required to take care that the inhabitants were well furnished with arms and ammunition, and kept in a constant state of defence. As these infant settlements were filled and surrounded with numerous savages, the people conceived themselves in danger when they lay down and when they rose up, when they went out and when they came in. Their circumstances were such, that it was judged necessary for every man to be a soldier.”†

1677. March 21. The church renewed the covenant, and held a fast on the occasion. Mr. Increase Mather preached from Nehemiah ix. 38. *Because of all this we make a sure covenant, and write it ; and our princes, Levites, and priests, sign unto it.*†

1695.

* Winthrop's Journal.

† Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 56.

‡ This sermon was printed. As it is now rarely to be met with, the following historical extracts from it are thought worth preserving here. “ The churches in Plimouth colony renewed their covenant in the latter end of the fourth month (June) 1676 ; and ever since the heathen in those parts have fallen.” Page 18.

“ Most of the members of the second church in Boston, when first constituted, were such as did once belong to the church of Christ in Dorchester.” p. 16.

1695. October 22. A church was gathered in this town, and Mr. Joseph Lord (who had been sometime employed as a school-master) was ordained to its pastoral charge.† The church was formed with a design to remove to South-Carolina, “to encourage the settlement of churches and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations.” The assisting churches were from Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Milton, and New-Cambridge.‡ Mr. Lord preached from Matth. v. 15. “*Ye are the salt of the earth.*” Mr. Morton gave the charge, and Mr. Hobart the right hand of fellowship.

On the fifth of December following the said church and pastor set sail. Mr. Danforth preached a sermon to them at parting, from Acts xxi. 4, 5, 6. which was afterwards printed. On the 14th of December they kept a fast on board, on account of the very boisterous weather; and on the 20th landed safely at Carolina, after a passage of only fourteen days. On the 2d of February, 1696, “was the first sacrament of the Lord’s supper that was ever celebrated at Carolina. Eight persons received, besides such as were of the church there, by virtue of communion of churches; and there was great joy among the good people of Carolina, and many thanksgivings to the Lord.”* “For, (said Mr. Danforth, in the sermon before mentioned)

In his sermon against sacrilege he has this remark. “My father had four sons brought up at the College, which, if he had not a personal estate of his own he could not have done. For he had not more than one hundred pound per annum salary from his people in Dorchester, which, (although it is a larger stipend than what most ministers in New-England have) yet, without other supplies is not sufficient to support a numerous family after an honourable manner. The like is to be said concerning the very learned Mr. Chauncy. He was constrained to leave Scituate because of his family straits. When enquired of how it fared with him, his answer was in these words, “*Ut plurimum deest panis.*” What a shame is it that so great a man should be forced so to speak! And after he was president of the College the country was not so grateful to him as it ought to have been; nor could he have subsisted if he had not received supplies from England out of estate which he left there.”

† He graduated at Harvard College in 1691. His native place was Charlestown.

‡ Now *Newton*.

* Church Records.

ed) there is not in that country either ordained minister, or any church in full gospel order ; so neither imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, nor donation of the right hand of fellowship, to be expected there, nor from any place much nearer to them than ourselves."

In honour of the place from which they emigrated, they named their new settlement *Dorchester*. It is situated on the north-east bank of Ashley river, and about eighteen miles west north-west of Charleston.

The successor of Mr. Lord was Rev. Hugh Fisher, who died October 6, 1734.

Rev. John Osgood, who was born in the same society, educated in Harvard College, and graduated in 1733, succeeded, on the 24th of March, 1735, to the pastoral charge of the same church at Dorchester, S. C. and Beech Hill which was a part of the settlement ; and officiated in each place alternately.

This situation being unhealthful, and the quantity of lands too small for the inhabitants, in the year 1752 they projected a settlement in Georgia. A few persons went into that province in search of lands ; and, having preferred a petition to the Legislature, procured a grant of thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty acres. This tract lies to the southward of Ogechee river, and about thirty miles south-westerly from Savannah, in the parish formerly called St. John's, now denominated Liberty county.

Finding a general disposition in the people to remove, Rev. Mr. Osgood went into this new settlement in March, 1754,* and the whole church and society gradually settled and collected there. The town they formed is named *Midway*.

The

* " His tender regard for his congregation, (says Dr. Zubly in his funeral sermon on Mr. Osgood) and his anxiety that they might be kept together, engaged him to remove into this province, and to share with them all the inconveniences that attend the settling of a wilderness ; and he lived to see their endeavours so blessed as to turn this wilderness into a garden, and the desert into fields which God hath blessed."

Mr. Osgood died August 2, 1773. After his death the church was occasionally supplied by Rev. Dr. Zubly, Rev. Daniel Roberts, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others. In 1776, Rev. Moses Allen, who was originally from Connecticut, and educated at the College in New-Jersey, succeeded to the pastoral charge.

The original church at Dorchester, South-Carolina, lay in a ruined condition from the period of the emigration of the first settlers till 1794, when a small body were re-organized. A year or two after they settled Mr. James Adams over them, who obtained a vote of separation March, 1804. A neat Congregational church has lately been erected on the spot where the first settlers built their place of worship.*

1705. August 29. The powder works in Dorchester were blown up ; but no one received any injury.

Other historical particulars of the town will be found under the articles which succeed.

Topography, Purchases and Grants of Land, &c.

Dorchester is situated south of Boston, at the distance of four miles and an half, measuring from the centre of each town.

In the month of November, 1778, the society was entirely broken up and dispersed by the British army from Florida under the command of General Provoost. Some fled into Chatham county, and some into South-Carolina. The army wantonly laid waste all before them, burned the meeting-house at *Midway*, almost every dwelling house in the settlement, and the crops of rice then in stacks. In December following Savannah was reduced by the British troops, commanded by Col. Campbell. At this time Mr. Allen was taken prisoner. The continental officers were sent to Sunbury on parole, except Mr. Allen, who was chaplain of the Georgia brigade ; he was denied that privilege. " His warm exhortations from the pulpit (says Dr. Ramsay), and his animated exertions in the field exposed him to the particular resentment of the British. They sent him with the private soldiers on board the prison ships. Wearied with a confinement of several months in that loathsome place, and seeing no prospect of relief, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty, by throwing himself into the river and swimming to an adjacent point ; but he was drowned in the attempt."

On the prospect of peace the inhabitants returned to *Midway*. In November, 1785, they settled Rev. Abiel Holmes ; but on account of his health he was obliged to leave them, June 21, 1791, and is now minister at Cambridge. He was succeeded at *Midway* by Rev. Cyrus Guildersleeve, who was ordained December 14, 1791. In 1797 there were one hundred and fifty communicants.

[For the particulars of this note I am indebted to information derived through my much respected friend, Rev. Mr. Holmes.]

* At my request, my beloved christian brother, Rev. Mr. Mc. Kean visited Dorchester in his travels through South-Carolina, and communicated to me information respecting the first settlement of that place which I have recited above.

town. It is bounded on the west by Roxbury and Dedham, on the south by Milton and Quincy, and on the east and north by Boston harbour. It was originally very extensive, comprehending the whole of the territory now contained in Milton, Stoughton, Sharon, Canton, and Foxborough. It was then about thirty-five miles in length, and in some places from six to eight in width. At present it contains about 8400 acres ; and considered separately from its peninsulas, islands, and that part of it known by the appellation of "the farms," its greatest length from north-east to south-west is about six miles, and its breadth from north-west to south-east three miles and an half.

The following particulars of the antient property and limits of the town, are deemed worth recording.

It has already been mentioned that the first settlers were kindly received by the aborigines. Liberty to remain here was granted them, but at the same time they were careful to purchase the territory of the Indians and "for a valuable consideration" they bought a tract of land from what is now called Roxbury brook on the west to Neponset river on the south, and on the other sides bounded by the sea.

In 1636 the General Court made a grant, in addition to this, as far as the Great Blue Hill, and the town took a deed of Kitchmakin, sachem of Massachusetts, for the same.*

After this, the boundaries of the town were run, and are entered in the Town Records, as follows : "To run from the outside of Mr. Rositer's farm next the sea, to the foot of the Great Blue Hill, from a marked tree, to a second marked tree in a strait line to the top of the Blue Hill next Neponset, S. W. and by W. half a point westerly ; and all the marsh ground from the south side of Mr. Newbury's house along Neponset river to Mr. Stoughton's mill, to lie in Dorchester,—and all the rest of the upland and marsh from Mr. Rositer's farm to the sea, and so to the mouth of the river beyond Minodiquid river running into the country southward, and to the west to lie to
Boston,

* Blake.—This part has since been set off and incorporated by the name of Milton.

Boston, only excepting such land as they have a right to by grant of the Court formerly."

In 1637, the General Court made a second grant to the town extending to the Plymouth line, called "the New Grant:" but the town was not able to make a contract immediately with the Indians. It was not till 1666 that the purchase was completed of Josias Chickatabot; and three years from that, before he engaged to sign a full and complete deed. Before *that* was properly authenticated, he was slain in the wars by the Mohawks; but Squamaug his brother, ruling as sachem during the minority of Jeremy Chickatabot, son of Josias, gave an ample deed which was also signed and confirmed by Jeremy himself in 1671, when the town assessed a rate of £.28 to pay for the purchase.

These are pleasing evidences of the precaution used by the early settlers to make regular purchases of the natives.

When the line between Dorchester and the old colony was run in 1713, a part of the last grant and purchase was cut off; Mr. Thaxter and Mr. Thompson mistaking *Station tree* for *Angle tree*, which are three miles and an half apart.*

Thompson's island was appropriated for the benefit of a school in 1639; but afterwards the town was sued out of its possession, and the General Court granted one thousand acres of wild land in lieu of it.†

The Indians on Neponset river having sold away all their lands, and finding themselves in the way of the new settlers, applied to Rev. Mr. Eliot at Roxbury for advice. He had been among them to preach to them, and gained their confidence and veneration. He readily exerted his influence in their behalf, proposed to them to move to Punkipog,‡ about fifteen miles farther back into the woods. To accomplish this, he sent a letter to major Atherton of Dorchester, full of grateful acknowledgments, in behalf of the Indians, "thanking him and all the good people

* See letter of Mr. Noah Clap, town-clerk of Dorchester, inserted in the Historical Collections, V. i. p. 100.

† Blake.

‡ Sometimes spelled Ponkipog, Punkipoag, and Pakemit. The name signifies "a spring issuing out of red earth."

people of Dorchester that they were allowed peaceably to reside in their village ;” and then makes a request, “ 1st, that you would please to make an order in your town, and record it in your town records, that you allow the Indians at Punkipog, there to sit down, and to make a town, and to allow such accommodations as may be sufficient to maintain God’s ordinances among them another day. 2dly. That you would appoint fit men, who may in a fit season, bound and lay out out the same, and record that also.” This letter bears date, “ Roxbury, 4th of the 4th month, 1657.”

Accordingly, at a general town meeting on the 7th of December following, it was voted that the Hon. Major Atherton, Lieutenant Clap, Ensign Foster, and William Sumner, be desired and impowered to lay out the Indian plantation at Punkipog, not exceeding six thousand acres. It appears that this was done, for, in a deed from Charles Josiah an Indian sachem, bearing date June, 1684, he ratified and confirmed, for a valuable sum of money paid him by William Stoughton, Esq. what his father Jeremy and his grandfather Chickatabot had done before him ; granting and conveying all the land in the town of Dorchester and Milton, said six thousand acres laid out for the Indians excepted.*

At the same meeting (1657) five hundred acres were granted to Lieut. Roger Clap ; and one thousand to be laid out for the support of the school in Dorchester.

In 1659 four hundred acres of land were granted to the use of the ministry, and five hundred to the non-commoners.

1662. *Unquety*† (now Milton) was set off a township.

1698. This year was finished the laying out of the *twelve divisions* of land, so called, in the new-grant, beyond the Blue Hills. They were laid out and surveyed by order of the proprietors ; John Butcher, surveyor.

In 1707 Punkipog plantation, with some other of the inhabitants

* For some account of this Indian settlement see Gookin’s Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England, published in the first vol. of Historical Society, page 184.

† Sometimes called *Uncataquisset*.

inhabitants of the new-grant; were set off a precinct by themselves, as far as Matherpog pond and Moose hill; and the meeting-house ordered to be set, where it now stands, upon Packeen river. When they obtained the act of incorporation from the General Court in 1726, the town was called *Stoughton* as a tribute of respect to lieutenant-governour William Stoughton.

The "twenty proprietors" were incorporated into a distinct body, with powers to lay out and sell lands, &c. and held their first meeting June 17, 1713. Their last bears date . . . Their records and plans are in the possession of Deacon Topliff.

1714. The line between Dorchester and Wrentham was extended from Station tree, the south-west bounds before made, to near the Patent or Colony line.*

Face of the Town, &c.

The surface of the ground, being agreeably diversified into hill and dale, gives a great variety of soil and prospect. Several of the hills afford extensive views of the harbour and islands on the east, and of the neighbouring towns and country in other directions; and offer, on their fertile sides or airy summits, very eligible scites for building, unequalled, perhaps, in the Commonwealth.

In the north-easterly extremity of the town, called "Dorchester neck," are those celebrated heights on which forts were erected during the late war with Great-Britain. These are so near to Boston and to Castle William, (now called Fort Independence) as completely to command both that town and harbour.

Most of the cliffs of rock in the town are formed of what are called *pudding stones*. These consist of concretions of small rounded pebbles, often highly polished, mixed with interstices either of consolidated sand or petrified clay. The *former* kind, when exposed to the air frequently crumbles, and the sand and pebbles separate. This is observable of cliffs farthest from the sea shore, at the distance of four or five miles; and I have observed none more remote. The *latter* kind is very compact, and never separated but with force, for the purpose of building walls,

* Blake.

walls, &c. In both the pebbles entirely resemble those found on the beach, where they are rounded by continual friction during the rushing in and receding of the tide.

River and Brook.

Neponset river is the boundary line between the town and Milton. It hath its rise from Cedar swamp in Foxborough; though a considerable current flows from it from Mashapog pond in Stoughton.

The bridge over this river uniting the town with Milton was built in the year 1651. A few years since a handsome arch was stretched over it, bearing this inscription, "WE UNITE IN DEFENCE OF OUR COUNTRY AND LAWS."

Another bridge has been built over the river from Squantum by the Quincy turnpike association, and was completed in the year 1803.

Mother brook, is a stream flowing spontaneously from Charles' river in Dedham, though its channel has been enlarged by cutting. It crosses the south-west corner of the town, and falls into Neponset. The circumstance of a brook flowing out of one river into another is very singular.

Bay.

Dorchester has but one bay, which is divided by a promontory, called *Fox point*, into two separate harbours. That which is formed on the south side is the most considerable, and has several wharves, but is not supplied with sufficient depth of water for vessels of a large size. The other is known by the name of "Old Harbour"; so called from being the place where the first settlers of the town came on shore.

The bay is met on the S. W. by Neponset river, which is navigable by vessels of considerable burden almost to Milton mills. The land here forms a promontory called "Preston's point," and sometimes "Tinian;" on which a fort was erected at the commencement of the late war. The situation of the point is very pleasant.

Near this place is a small creek which bears the name of "Barque Warwick," from a small vessel which ran a-ground

ground here within two or three years after the first settlement of the town ; the remains of which are still to be seen.

Peninsulas.

One of these is known by the name of "Dorchester point." It lies in an irregular form, and contains about 600 acres. Its north-east extremity approaches within half a mile of Fort Independence, and its north-west is about the same distance from the south part of Boston, with which to connect it by a bridge or dam would be easy ; and a plan is in agitation for that purpose.

Two hills on this peninsula, at a small distance from each other, are the celebrated *heights* of which mention has been made.

Squantum is a smaller peninsula, running into the sea in a north-east direction from "the farms," (to which it is united by an isthmus about three quarters of a mile long) until it comes nigh to Thompson's island. The land here is generally good, especially for mowing and pasturage. It rises by a gradual ascent on all sides to a considerable height ; and its summit commands a noble prospect of the harbour and circumjacent country. At the north-east extremity is an abrupt pile of rocks, known by the name of "the Chapel."

The Farms are a tract of land on the south-east of the bay, and contiguous to Milton and Quincy. The soil is in some parts tolerably good, but in general it is light and sandy. It produces considerable crops of indian-corn, barley, and oats ; but its mowing and pasturage are indifferent.

Islands.

There are belonging to the town two islands, "Thompson's" and "the Moon." The former contains about 100 acres, and is inhabited ; the latter about 30 acres.

Mills.

The first mill built in Dorchester, and "the first in the Colony" was erected by Mr. Stoughton, by leave of the plantation, on Neponset river, in the year 1633.*

There

* Blake.

There are now belonging to the town ten mills ; viz. three paper mills, two chocolate mills, three grist mills, and two fulling mills, situated on Neponset river, and a grist tide-mill on a creek which runs up from the mouth of the river on the easterly part of the town.†

Manufactures.

The principal manufactures of the town are bricks,‡ paper, chocolate, leather, and boots and shoes of various kinds ; riding carriages, cabinet work, elegant and plain looking glass frames, playing cards, woolen cloths and stuffs.

Salt Works.

In the year 1802 salt-works were erected on Preston's point by Captain Deane. They consist of a series of vats, two hundred feet in length and twenty feet in width, making about four thousand superficial feet of exposure to the power of evaporation. These works produced the last year one hundred and thirty bushels of salt of an excellent quality and remarkably pure ; and during the winter a considerable quantity of Glauber's salts were chrysalized.

Majors James and Edward Robinson are now erecting a set of works upon a new construction, of which they give the following description :

“ The water is brought into troughs, elevated to whatever height the owner may choose ; and from them, brought down upon the face of the *reflectors*, which stand over *inclined planes* or *platforms*. The water is carried down by *cleets*, which are also *reflectors*, which convey it forwards, and backwards, over the face of the large *reflectors*, until it be brought down to the head of the *platforms*, over which it is conveyed again by cleets, until it runs backwards and forwards (the little rivulets being about one inch and an half separated) until it traverse the whole surface, from which it is conducted into *vats*, and carried back again by *pumps* into the *troughs*, if not sufficiently pickled ; and then carried again over the face of the *reflectors*

† On Neponset river on Milton side, are also three paper mills, one grist mill, one saw mill, and one chocolate mill.

‡ 4,000,000 bricks were made in the year 1803.

reflectors and *platforms*, as before. The *reflectors* are also the *roofs*, which are much less costly than those in the other mode; and in the *evaporation* answer a most important purpose. When the water is pickled, it also stands under *reflectors* and *lenses*, if any choose to improve the latter, which, doubtless, will very soon chrySTALLIZE the brine. An hundred feet in *this way*, it is believed, will much exceed a thousand in the *former*. What is an agreeable consideration is, much of the works in the old way may be added to these, to the very great profit of the owners, because the chief of their works are *vats* and *roofs*, the latter of which only are lost. However, the advantage arising from the cheapness of the *roofs* in the new invention, and these being turned into *reflectors*, will a great deal more than repay the damage. *One hundred feet*, prepared for pickling the water, will very soon prepare great quantities to be put into the *salt rooms* or *vats*, in which the salt is made; and hence at comparatively a very small expence of time, much *greater quantities* of salt can be produced, than ever have been before."

Meeting House.

The first place for publick worship was erected on the plain, not far from "Old harbour," where they landed.* It was surrounded by pallisadoes, was the place for the deposit of military stores, and for resort in case of alarm from the Indians. A sentinel was kept at the gate every night; and thither the people carried their plate and most valuable articles every evening, to be preserved in safety.

In 1676 a new meeting house was erected on the hill where the present one stands. The work was undertaken by Mr. Isaac Royal, and performed for two hundred pounds. The elm trees about it were set out by Mr. Thomas Tilestone.† After the building was completed the old one was sold, by a vote of the town, to Mr. Royal, for £.10. The first assembling in the new meeting house was on Nov. 17, 1678.

This place of worship having fallen into decay, and being too small to accommodate the inhabitants, a new one was

* Near to where Col. Swan's pavilion now stands.

† These noble trees were cut down at the commencement of the late war.

was raised in 1743, sixty-eight feet by forty-six, with a tower fourteen feet square, and a steeple one hundred and four feet high to the vane. The whole cost three thousand five hundred and sixty-seven pounds, ten shillings, and eleven pence, old tenor. The first meeting in it was on the 2d of December, 1744; when Mr. Bowman preached a sermon suitable to the occasion from Psalm lxxxiv. 1. On leaving the old house the Lord's day preceding he discoursed from Rev. iii. 3.

In 1752 the new bell was hung. It was given by the proprietors of the common and undivided lands, late in the township of Dorchester and now in Stoughton. It was imported from Bristol in England; weighs seven hundred and eighty-five pounds, and cost the company fifty pounds sterling.

Sept. 23, 1753. Began to read the scriptures as a part of the publick service on the Lord's day.

In 1795 the meeting house was enlarged, by first dividing it along the ridge pole, and one half moved off fourteen feet, and then building an addition in the middle. After which the tower and steeple were moved, standing, seven feet, to bring it to the centre of the end. This ingenious operation was performed by deacon Edward Pierce of Dorchester, by means of screws, and with the strength of only four men.

Schools.

There are five annual schools in the town. The school-house in the middle of the town is brick; the others are commodious wooden buildings.

A social Library was formed in 1793. At present it consists of about five hundred volumes, of the best modern authors; with means for an annual increase.

Population.

By the last census Dorchester contained 2,347 inhabitants.

Bills of Births and Deaths.

"The records of births and deaths before the year 1657 were accidentally burnt in Thomas Millet's house, and so are all lost, excepting that a few families had kept an account of their children's births, and entered them in the next book of records."*

The

* Blake's MS. Annals.

The following Tables are compiled from the registry of the town-clerk, compared with records kept in the families of Blake, Pierce, and others.

Year.	Births.	Deaths	Year.	Births.	Deaths	Year.	Births	Deaths	Year.	Births	Deaths
1657	19	17	1678	33	20	1699	27	11 ^d	1720	27	8
1658	31	9	1679	29	18	1700	34	15	1721	53	12 ^g
1659	18	7	1680	35	8	1701	35	19	1722	43	14
1660	29	6	1681	27	17	1702	31	14	1723	45	22
1661	19	7	1682	38	12	1703	35	8 ^e	1724	43	15
1662	23	5	1683	28	19	1704	40	12	1725	53	13
1663	5 ^a	5 ^a	1684	24	8	1705	41	6 ^f	1726	44	9
1664	18	8	1685	22	4	1706	38	10	1727	28	6
1665	29	5	1686	25	7	1707	31	12	1728	39	10
1666	13	6	1687	33	10	1708	33	14	1729	26	9
1667	26	5	1688	32	20	1709	48	11	1730	38	11
1668	20	5	1689	31	13	1710	39	10	1731	44	16
1669	22	6	1690	15	38 ^c	1711	35	14	1732	36	19 ^h
1670	23	4	1691	26	20	1712	38	16	1733	37	13
1671	17	5	1692	21	16	1713	27	13	1734	22	15
1672	14	3 ^b	1693	35	17	1714	36	22	1735	33	18
1673	25	6	1694	25	12	1715	35	13	1736	41	20
1674	20	4	1695	31	9	1716	47	10	1737	32	18
1675	37	13	1696	29	7	1717	28	15	1738	48	13
1676	35	28	1697	26	6	1718	37	23	1739	33	21
1677	36	12	1698	33	7	1719	34	11			

^a Only that number recorded.

^b William Dier, aged 93.

^c "There is a memorandum (says Mr. Blake) in my father's book, in the account he kept, that from the first of April, 1690, unto the first of July, 1691, that is, one year and four months, there died in Dorchester fifty-seven persons, thirty-three of them of the *small-pox*, the rest of a fever, and most of them of a middle age. About the same time, [1690] lost at sea forty-six foldiers that went to Canada, in all one hundred and three."

^d One person aged 85, and one 98.

^e One aged 83, and one 93.

Feb. 6, 1705, died the widow Wyat, aged 94; "having as a mid-wife assisted at the birth of one thousand one hundred and odd children." *Blake*.

^g "This year the small-pox went through Boston, and it was in twenty-nine families of this town, whereof thirteen persons died, two of them being strangers." *Blake*.

^h Several aged people died of a prevailing epidemick cold.

Year.	Baptisms*	D'ths.	Year.	Bpm	D'ths.	Year.	Bpm	D'ths.	Year.	Bpm	D'th
1740	41	20 ^k	1757	48	19	1774	40	26 ^q	1791	42	32
1741	44	12	1758	37	18	1775	49	71 ^r	1792	37	36 ^z
1742	35	10	1759	33	28	1776	32	56 ^s	1793	35	39 ^A
1743	40	27	1760	33	28	1777	40	32 ^t	1794	47	19 ^B
1744	33	22	1761	41	53 ^o	1778	30	42 ^u	1795	39	17 ^C
1745	35	26	1762	37	26	1779	46	19	1796	61	22
1746	32	27	1763	42	25	1780	31	18	1797	47	21 ^D
1747	30	36	1764	54	23	1781	45	13	1798	57 ^E	34 ^F
1748	33	28	1765	44	24	1782	42	17	1799	50	38
1749	36	29	1766	37	38	1783	41	27	1800	43 ^G	41 ^H
1750	36	37	1767	44	29	1784	41	25 ^v	1801	47	44
1751	24	36 ^m	1768	44	26 ^p	1785	44	18	1802	40 ^I	61 ^K
1752	33	51 ⁿ	1769	49	29	1786	41	25 ^w	1803	44	50 ^L
1753	36	26	1770	52	33	1787	26	29			
1754	34	18	1771	29	18	1788	37	11 ^x			
1755	33	20	1772	46	23	1789	41	16 ^y			
1756	38	19	1773	23	24	1790	34	35			

* I here use the records of *baptisms*, as that of *births* in the town-clerk's office appears imperfect, probably from the negligence of parents in sending in the names of their children.

^k Mr. John Trefcot, aged 90, and his wife aged 90.

^l One person aged 93.

^m Twelve of this number died between Nov. 22 and Dec. 24.

ⁿ Several died of an epidemick, pleurisy, and nervous fever; twenty-four in January.

^o Ten died in the month of October, and six in the beginning of November.

^p Five very sudden deaths.

^q Several aged persons died, viz. one of 95, two of 86, one of 85, one of 84, one of 73, one of 62, and one of 58 years of age.

^r More aged persons died, viz. one [Mr. Israel Leadbetter] of 97, one of 88, one of 86, two of 72, one of 67, and one of 64 years of age. This year also forty soldiers were buried.

^s Four died of the small-pox.

^t Twelve died of the small-pox.

^u Nine died of the small-pox.

^v Several aged persons died, viz. one of 87, one of 86, one of 84, one of 82, one of 76, one of 73, and one of 72 years of age.

^w Died one person aged 86, and one 71.

^x One aged 79.

^y One person aged 90, one 84, and one 75.

^z Died ten of the small-pox.

^A One person aged 77, one 76, and one 70.

^B One person aged 86, one 83, four 78, and one 77.

^C One person aged 97, one 88, and two 78.

^D One person aged 95.

^E and five adults baptized.

^F Aged persons, 85, 83, 81, 78, 75, 71; and fifteen children under three years of age.

^G And three adults baptized.

^H Mrs. Thornton aged 100, and Mrs. Tolman aged 88.

^I Three adults baptized.

^K Aged persons, 87, 77, two of 72, one of 71, and one of 70. Eight persons died of a malignant fever, six of them children of Mr. Belcher, between the ages of 14 and 30.

^L Aged persons, 86, 85, two of 80, one of 78, 76, 75, 74, 70.

Ministers.

The first ministers in the town were Rev. John Wareham, and Rev. John Maverick, who came together from England, as has been already mentioned, in the year 1630. "Good old Mr. Maverick" as Morton styles him,|| died at Boston, after the removal of a large part of his church and congregation to Connecticut, on the third of February 1636, aged 60.

Dr. Mather fills up two columns in the *Magnalia* with an account of Mr. Wareham, from which we can learn only that he was a pious man, that he preached with notes, and that, from religious scruples, while he administered the Lord's supper to others he for several years declined partaking himself.* From another source we learn that he died at Windsor, April 1, 1670.†

When a new church was gathered at Dorchester, Rev. Richard Mather was installed the pastor.

He was born at Lowton in the parish of Winwick and county of Lancaster, in Great-Britain, in the year 1596. His parents Thomas and Margaret Mather were of antient families in that village. Though reduced to low circumstances, they gave their son a good education. So great was his early proficiency at school, that he was elected in 1611, being only 15 years old, to take the instruction of a school at Toxteth, near Liverpool. In this office he acquitted himself well, "so that he was both loved and feared by his scholars, beyond what is usual even where there are aged masters." After having fitted several scholars for the university, he removed there himself, and entered a student in Brazen Nose college at Oxford. He was soon, however, recalled to Toxteth by a request of the congregation there to become their minister. He accordingly returned, and preached his first sermon on the 10th of Nov. 1618. Soon after he received episcopal ordination by Dr. Morton, then bishop of Chester.

September

|| New-England's Memorial, p. 115.

* p. 120.

† A daughter of his, Eunice, married Rev. Eleazer Mather first pastor of the church at North-Hampton. Her only daughter, Eunice, was the wife of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, and was barbarously murdered by the Indians when her husband and the family were taken captive, March, 1703—4.

September 29, 1624, he married Katherine, daughter of Edmund Hault, Esq. of Bury in Lancashire ; with whom he lived in connubial affection thirty years. By her he had six sons ; of whom Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel, and Joseph, were born in Great-Britain ; and Eleazer and Increase, in New-England.

After having preached fifteen years he was suspended and silenced, August, 1633, for non-conformity to the establishment ; but on November following restored again, through the intercession of friends. But, under the more rigorous visitations of the archbishop of York, he again received sentence of suspension in 1634. His never having worn the surplice, and his puritanick principles, were alleged against him. Being thus "inhibited from the exercise of his ministerial functions," placed again in private life, and apprehensive of the severity of those persecutions an enraged hierarchy were meditating, he resolved upon a removal to New-England. Accordingly he drew up his reasons for such a determination, and exhibited them to the ministers and others in Lancashire at several meetings appointed for their consideration. As nothing was objected against them that he deemed satisfactory, in the month of April, 1635, he left his people at Toxteth, and journeyed to Bristol in order to take ship there. He was obliged to change his outer habit, that he might travel *incognito*, because pursuivants were seeking to apprehend ; but by this method he eluded their search. From Bristol he sailed for New-England, May 23, 1635. Two of his sons, who were ministers, came with him, also Jonathan Mitchil, then only a child of eleven years of age ; afterwards the famous pastor of the church at Cambridge. The ship encountered a most violent and dangerous hurricane on the American coast, but providentially arrived safe in Boston harbour, August 17, 1635.

Mr. Mather tarried some months with his wife and family in Boston. Immediately several invitations were made to him from Plymouth, Roxbury, and other towns to settle with them ; but, by the advice of Messrs. Cotton, Hooker, and other friends, he accepted the request from Dorchester, and began the gathering and forming a church there (the first church having moved with Rev. Mr.

Mr. Wareham to Connecticut) in August, 1636 ; and on the 23d of that month was constituted their teacher.

Notwithstanding many pressing invitations to return to his people in England, he continued in Dorchester till his death.

For his second wife he married the widow of the famous John Cotton.

Though in his old age he experienced many infirmities, as great deafness, the loss of sight in one eye for seven years, and painful attacks from the stone ; yet such was his general good health, that it is observed of him that “ in fifty years together he was not detained by sickness so much as one Lord’s day from publick labours.”

As he was attending the synod at Boston, of which he was chosen moderator, he was taken with a violent fit of the stone, which in five days put a period to his life, April 22, 1669, in the seventy-third year of his age.

The last texts from which he preached were Job xiv. 14. and 2 Tim. iv. 6—8. He had also prepared a discourse upon 2 Cor. v. 1. to be delivered at a private conference in Dorchester, “ but was prevented speaking by bodily pains.”

“ He was a man of an exemplary life and conversation ; a good scholar ; and a plain, solid, practical preacher. He wrote several treatises, which were well accepted in those times, and was generally consulted in all difficulties relating to church government.”* He drew up the “ discourses about the church covenant” and the “ answer to the thirty-two questions,” in the year 1639, which pass under the names of the ministers of New-England ; and when the “ platform of church discipline was agreed to by a synod of these churches in the year 1647, Mr. Mather’s model was that out of which it was chiefly taken.† Other particulars of his publications may be found in the *Magnalia*.

He left four sons in the ministry, one of whom, *Eleazer*, pastor of the church at Northampton, died about three months after his father. *Samuel* was teacher of a church in

* Neal, Hist. of N. Eng. vol. I. p. 385.

† *Magnalia*, p. 128.

in Dublin in Ireland ; *Nathaniel*, minister of Barnstable in Devon, Great-Britain, and afterwards of Rotterdam in Holland ; and *Increase*, minister of Boston in New-England.†

In the latter part of the year 1639, Rev. Jonathan Burr was settled as colleague with Mr. Mather.*

He was born at Redgrave in Suffolk, Great-Britain, of godly parents, who perceiving his early love of letters, gratified him with a learned education : and, says Dr. Mather,† “ though literature did much adorn his childhood, religion did so much more ; for he had from a child known the holy scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation.” In his earliest years, “ so studious was he as to leave his food for his book, and withal so pious as to leave his book for his prayers.”

After having spent four years at the university, upon the death of his father he returned to the country, and was employed in keeping a school. Here, however, he pursued his studies with such diligence, that when those of his standing were to take their degrees of mastership, he was appointed one of the moderators ; an honourable distinction in which he acquitted himself to great acceptance.

For a while he preached at Horniger, near Bury in Suffolk, and afterwards took the charge of the church at Reckingshal. “ He was a minister of very good repute there for piety and learning.”||

Having been silenced for non-conformity, in the beginning of 1639, he came over to New-England, with his wife and three children. Soon after their arrival she was delivered of a fourth. The following year he with his family had the small-pox, which, as inoculation was not then practised, was a very malignant and dangerous disorder ; but they all happily recovered, though it left Mr. Burr in a state of debility which shortened his days.

Though in the discharge of his ministerial office at Dorchester

† For particulars of these, see the following notices of graduates at Harvard College.

* The church records do not specify the time, but I find that on the 21st day of the 10th month [December] “ Mr. Jonathan Burr and Mrs. Frances his wife were admitted as members of the church.”

† *Magnalia*, p. 78.

|| Winthrop's Journal, p. 216.

chester he is recorded to have given "good proof of his gifts and godliness to universal satisfaction, yet some little misunderstandings with regard to certain points supposed to favour the opinions of the Familists arose between him and Mr. Mather. The dissatisfaction of the latter was so great that a council was called to take the matter into consideration. It consisted of the governour and another of the magistrates, and ten of the elders of the neighbouring churches. Four days were spent in the discussion. The result was a recommendation to the two pastors "to set apart a day for mutual reconciliation;" which was accordingly done, with mutual concessions, "and harmony and a good understanding was restored."*

Doctor Mather comments largely upon Mr. Burr's eminent piety, bountiful charity to the poor, tender sympathy with the afflicted, amiable disposition, and unaffected meekness of spirit.

Though distinguished by a most exemplary life and conversation, and by the most conscientious discharge of ministerial duties; yet such was his humility that he would sometimes complain to his friends, "Alas! I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be." "Hence, on the Lord's day, after he came home from his publick work, it was his manner presently to retire and spend some time in praying to God for the pardon of the sins which accompanied him in his work, and in praising God for enabling him to go in any measure through it; with petitions for the good success of his labours. He would then come down to his family worship, wherein he spent some hours instructing the family and performing other duties: and, when his wife desired him to abate of his excessive pains, his answer would be "It is better to be worn out with the work than to be eaten out with rust." It was, indeed, his joy to be spending his life unto the uttermost for God and for his people; yea, he would say, though he should have no temporal rewards."†

Such holy fervour and pathos seasoned his pulpit performances that the famous Mr. Hooker remarked, "Surely this man will not long be out of heaven, for he preaches

as

* For farther particulars, see Winthrop's Journal, p. 216.

† Mather's Magnalia, p. 78.

as if he were there already." This prediction was soon verified. After a short sickness of ten days, he expired August 9, 1641. During his last illness his faith, patience, and piety were conspicuous. After some conversation with the friends who surrounded his dying bed, he requested the company to withdraw that he might have opportunity to pray awhile by himself, but, perceiving their reluctance at leaving him, "he prayed in Latin so long as he had strength to do it." He then took an affectionate leave of his wife and family, and died in peace.

His widow afterwards married the Honourable Richard Dummer, Esq. with whom she lived happily more than forty years.

Mr. Burr left four children. His eldest son was educated at Harvard College.

Rev. John Wilson, jun. was ordained "as co-adjutor with Rev. Mr. Mather, the teacher, in 1649." After two years he was removed to Medfield, where he was pastor forty years. "The Lord's day preceding his translation he preached both forenoon and afternoon fervently and powerfully. The Lord's day that he expired the greater part of his church were present to behold and lament his removal from them, which was on August 23, 1691."*

He was son of Rev. John Wilson, first minister of Charlestown; received an education at Harvard College, and graduated with the first class in 1642.

After Mr. Wilson went to Medfield the church invited Mr. *William Stoughton*, afterwards lieutenant-governor, to take the office of teacher. This, though repeated several times, he persisted in declining; but gave his occasional assistance in preaching for some years, "for which he received compensation both from the town and church."†

Rev. Josiah Flint was ordained Dec. 27, 1681; Mr. Mather having been dead nearly two years. He was son of Rev. Henry Flint of Braintree; graduated at Harvard College in 1664; and continued in the pastoral office in Dorchester till his death, which was on the 16th of September, 1680, in the 35th year of his age. The only publication of Mr. Flint's that I have met with is an epistle dedicatory to "Mrs. Bridget Usher," his aunt, prefixed

* Dorchester Church Records.

† Ibid.

ed to a sermon of Rev. Leonard Hoar, reprinted at Boston by John Foster, in 1680.

Rev. John Danforth was ordained here on the twenty-eighth of June, 1682. The churches sent to were, the one in Boston of which Mr. Eliot was pastor, Roxbury, Dedham, Milton, Braintree, Weymouth and Medfield. There were two meetings on the day. Mr. Increase Mather preached in the forenoon, and Mr. Danforth delivered a discourse in the afternoon from 2 Kings ii. 14. "Where is the Lord God of Elifha?" Mr. Eliot gave the charge.

He continued in office to the time of his death, May 26, 1730, aged 78.

He was son of Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury; and graduated at Harvard College in 1677, and was afterwards a Fellow of the corporation.

The following character is extracted from Blake's manuscript Annals. "He was said to be a man of great learning. He understood the mathematicks beyond most men of his function. He was exceeding charitable, and of a very peaceful temper. He had a good taste for poetry.†

He

† I have seen several elegiac pieces of his in English hexameter verse. Those which possess the most poetical merit are, "Two vast enjoyments commemorated and two great bereavements lamented, in two excellent persons, viz. Rev. *Peter Thacher* pastor of the church of Christ in Milton, who was born into this world July 18, 1651, and ascended to a better world, Dec. 17, 1727, *Æt.* 77, and in the 47th of his pastorate: and Rev. *Samuel Danforth*, pastor of the church of Christ in Taunton, whose nativity was Dec. 18, 1666, and his translation to the heavenly paradise Nov. 14, 1727, fifteen days after the first shock of the great earthquake in New-England." The other poem is "on the death of Mrs. *Anne Eliot*, the virtuous consort of Rev. John Eliot, first minister of Roxbury, who exchanged worlds March 24, 1687, in the 84th year of her age." To which are added "verses to the memory of Mr. *John Eliot*, teacher to the church of Christ in Roxbury, and a propagator of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. Who rested from his labours May 20, 1690, *Æt.* 86." The following version of Mr. Eliot's hints respecting the best methods of gospelizing the Indians may serve as a specimen of the poetry.

"Address, I pray, your senate for good orders
To civilize the heathen in our borders.
Virtue must turn into necessity,
Or this brave work will in its urn still lie.

'Till

He took much pains to perpetuate the names of many of the good christians of his flock by writing inscriptions and epitaphs for their grave stones ; and yet the world is so ungrateful that he has not a line written to preserve his memory. He was buried in Lieut. Gov. Stoughton's tomb ; and there also lieth his consort Mrs. Elizabeth Danforth.

Mr. Danforth published several sermons of which I have seen the following.

"Kneeling to God at parting with friends ; or the fraternal intercessory cry of faith and love ; a sermon preached at the departure of Rev. Mr. Lord and his church to go to Carolina." 1767.

"The blackness of sinning against the light ; a sermon on Rom. i. 21." 1710.

"Sermon on the death of Edward Broomfield Esq."

"Judgement begun at the house of God," &c. 1716.

"Two sermons on the earthquake." 1727.

Fast sermon, on Exod. ix. 33, 34.

He also preached the artillery election sermon in the year 1693 : but I do not know whether it was printed.

Between six and seven months before Mr. Danforth's death, Rev. Jonathan Bowman was ordained his colleague ; Nov. 5, 1729. The churches sent to were Lexington, Roxbury, Scituate, Braintree, Milton, and Stoughton. Mr. Hancock preached from 2 Cor. xi. 28. Mr. Danforth gave the charge, and Mr. Walter gave the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. Bowman continued in the pastoral relation till Dec. 14, 1773, when at his request, he was dismissed. He died March 30, 1775, aged 68.

He was graduated at Harvard College in 1724.

Though a good scholar, and a handsome composuist,
yet

'Till agriculture and cohabitation

Come under full restraint and regulation,

Much you *would* do you'll find *impracticable*

And much you *do* will prove *unprofitable*.

In common lands that lie unfenc'd you know,

The husbandman in vain doth plow and sow ;

We hope in vain the plant of *grace* will thrive

In forests where *civility* can't live."

yet such was his diffidence that he declined preaching on publick occasions, and never consented to have any of his sermons printed.

The successor to Mr. Bowman was Rev. *Moses Everett*. He was ordained September 28, 1774. The churches sent to were, the first church in Stoughton, Milton, the first church in Dedham, Dr. Eliot's church in Boston, the church in Ipswich, of which Rev. Mr. Cutler is pastor, the third church in Roxbury, the Old North church in Boston, and Dr. Cooper's church there. Rev. Mr. Haven preached from 2 Cor. iv. 5. Mr. Dunbar gave the charge, and Dr. Eliot the right hand of fellowship.

By reason of ill health Mr. Everett was induced to ask a dismissal; to which the church and people, after expressing their kindness to him, and duly weighing the matter, consented. The relation was accordingly dissolved January 14, 1793. He now lives among them a private gentleman and christian, much respected.

Mr. Everett published "a sermon at the ordination of his brother Rev. Oliver Everett to the pastoral care of the New South church in Boston," 1782; and a "sermon before a society of young men in Dorchester."

Rev. *Thaddeus Mason Harris*, the present pastor, was ordained October 23, 1793.

*A list of those who went from Dorchester to receive an education at Harvard College.**

Graduated 1643. Samuel Mather, A. M. son of Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester. He was afterwards a Fellow of the college; and first preacher at the North church in Boston, where his brother and nephew were in after time settled. He went over to England in the time of Cromwell, and was chosen one of the chaplains in Magdalen college, Oxford. Afterwards he went over to Ireland, and became one of the senior Fellows of Trinity college in Dublin. Upon the inforcement of the act of uniformity in 1662, he left all his preferments in the church, and became

* The writer is sensible that these are but imperfect sketches. His information in many instances was very deficient; but he hopes those who have it in their power will communicate, through the Historical Society, a more circumstantial account.

became pastor of a congregation of dissenters in Dublin, where he died in the year 1671. "He was a good scholar, and a generous spirited man. He was the author of a very valuable treatise "on the figures and types of the Old Testament," which was published by his brother after his death."†

1647. Nathaniel Mather, A. M. brother to the preceding, and his successor in the pastoral care of the church in Dublin, whither he went from Barnstable, New-England, where he was first settled. After that he was pastor of a church at Rotterdam : but about the time of the revolution he went over to England, and was chosen pastor of a dissenting congregation in London, where he died in 1697, in great esteem among his brethren for learning and piety. Aged 67.

William Brimsmead. He was educated at Harvard College, but never had a degree. Several of his class, equally dissatisfied with him, with a vote of the corporation requiring four years residence at college previous to a degree, took up their connections (in the year 1647), because, at the time of their admission, three years residence entitled students to that honour. He was first employed as a preacher at Plymouth, but afterwards settled at Marlborough, September 20, 1660. He was never married. "Where, or how he lived is unknown to the descendants of his charge ; and nearly all that perpetuates his memory is an unlettered stone. He died July 3, 1701."†

He preached the election sermon on May 11, 1681, on Jeremiah vi. 8. "Be instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee ; lest I make thee desolate, a land not inhabited."

He is characterized as "a well-accomplished servant of Christ."

Ichabod Wifwall was in the same class, and left college for the same reasons. He settled at Duxborough, where he was minister about thirty years. He was employed by the colony of Plymouth as their agent to the court of Great-

† Neale.

† Rev. Mr. Packard's account of Marlborough. Hist. Collections, Vol. IV. p. 47.

Great-Britain. He deceased July 20, 1700. He was considered as "a man of eminent accomplishments for the service of the sanctuary," "gave undoubted evidence of abilities and virtue," so that his death was "accounted a great loss to the country."*

1650. William Stoughton, A. M. son of Col. Israel Stoughton. "A person of eminent qualifications, honourable extract, liberal education, and singular piety."† For a number of years he was a preacher of the gospel, with great acceptance. His sermon at the annual election, (April 29, 1668) has been ranked "among the very best delivered on that occasion."

He was ambassador from the province of Massachusetts to the court of Great-Britain; chief justice of the superiour court; lieutenant governour under Sir William Phipps, and after him commander in chief till the coming of his excellency Richard earl of Belmont; lieut. governour with him during his stay in the country; and after him commander in chief again till his death. He deceased July 7, 1701, aged 70. He was interred at Dorchester, July 15, "with great honour and solemnity, and with him much of New-England's glory."‡

The inscription on his monument is published in the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. ii. page 10.

He was a generous benefactor to Harvard College. Stoughton hall was erected at his expence. He also left a tract of land in Dorchester for the support of scholars at the college, and another for the benefit of publick schools in the town.

1650. John Glover, son of John Glover, Esq. of Dorchester, who bequeathed a sum of money for the support of scholars at college. I believe Mr. Glover was a physician at Roxbury. He received the degree of *Doctor of Medicine* from Aberdeen.

Pelatah Glover. Though educated at Cambridge, it seems that he never received a degree there. He was born 1637. Ordained at Springfield June 18, 1661, "when a church was first gathered there;" and was their minister many years.

1631.

1651. Jonathan Burr, A. M. son of Rev. Jonathan Burr of Dorchester.

1656. Eleazer Mather, son of Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester. He was born May 13, 1637. When a church was gathered at Northampton in 1661, he was ordained over it June 23. "Here he laboured for eleven years in the vineyard of the Lord; much admired as a man of talents and exalted piety, and as a zealous preacher."

There was printed at Cambridge, 1671, in a 4to. pamphlet, "Serious exhortation to the present and succeeding generation in New-England, earnestly calling upon them all to endeavour that the Lord's gracious presence may be continued with posterity; being the substance of the *last sermons* preached by Eleazer Mather, late pastor of the church at Northampton." In a copy of this publication which I have seen, is the following note in the hand-writing of Dr. Increase Mather. "The first sermon was preached June 13, 1669; the second, June 27 following; the third, July 4th; the fourth and last, July 11th; after which day my brother Eleazer lived not in health able to preach: for July 13th he took to his bed, and July 24, he went to rest in the Lord, to keep an everlasting sabbath in heaven."

He died in 1669, aged 32 years.

1656. Increase Mather, A. M. brother to the former. Ordained in the North Church in Boston, May 27, 1669. Appointed president of the college in 1685, but resigned that office, 1701. Received a degree of *Doctor of Divinity*. Died August 23, 1723, aged 85.

1665. Hope Atherton, son of Major-General Humphrey Atherton, baptized at Dorchester August 30, 1646. In 1667 and 1668, he kept the school here, whence he was dismissed, and settled in the ministry at Hadley.

1667. John Foster. A printer and astronomer. He lived in Boston. To his almanack of 1681 he annexed an ingenious "dissertation on comets, their motion, distance, and magnitude;" followed by observations on the comets seen at Boston in November and December, 1680. He died September 9, 1681, Æt. 33. His grave stone bears the following inscription:

Astra

Astra colis vivens, moriens super æthera Foster
 Scande precor, cœlum metiri disce supremum ;
 Metior atque meum est, emit mihi dives Jesus,
 Nec tenior quicquam nisi grates solvere.

1671. Samuel Mather, A. M. Settled at Windsor in Connecticut. He was one of the first trustees of Yale college, and died 1728, aged 77.

1675. James Minot, son of Mr. James Minot of Dorchester, and nephew to the Hon. William Stoughton, Esq. born 1659. He dwelt in Concord, where he held the military rank of captain, and was a justice of the peace for the county of Middlesex.

1677. Edward Payson, A. M. for many years a minister at Rowley. Died August 22, 1732, aged 75 years, 2 months, and 10 days.

1677. Joseph Capen, A. M. son of John Capen of Dorchester ; baptized January 2, 1658. Ordained at Topshfield June 4, 1684. Died June 30, 1725, *Æt.* 67.

1690. Nathaniel Clap, A. M. son of Nathaniel Clap of Dorchester : baptized January 24, 1668. He was many years a minister at Newport in Rhode-Island ; and died October 30, 1745, aged 78. From a discourse on his death by Rev. J. Callender, from Hebrews xiii. 7, 8. the following characteristick traits of this venerable man are extracted.

“The main stroke in his character was his eminent sanctity and piety and an ardent desire to promote the knowledge and practice of true godliness in others.”—“As his understanding was above the common level, so was his learning.”—“He thought his station required more than common instances of innocence, self-denial, and caution.”—“He was zealously attached to what he considered as the true doctrines of grace, and to the forms of worship he thought to be of divine institution : But his charity embraced good men of all denominations.—He had little value for mere speculative, local, nominal christianity, and a form of godliness without the power. He insisted most on those things on which our interest in Jesus Christ and our title to eternal life must depend ; that *faith* by which we are justified and have peace with God through our
 Lord

Lord Jesus, and that *repentance* towards God and *new obedience*, which are the necessary effect and evidence of our regeneration, and the proper exercise of christianity."

"He abounded in acts of charity and beneficence to the poor and necessitous—to whom he was a kind father and guardian."

"In fine, he was a publick blessing, as an able minister of the New Testament, an example of unsuspected piety, and an honour to religion."

"There are two things in which he excelled in so remarkable a manner, that I must not omit them: his care about the education of children, and his concern for the instruction of servants."

"He abounded in contrivances to do good by scattering books of piety and virtue, not such as minister questions and strife, but godly edifying; and put himself to a very considerable expence that he might, in this method, awaken the careless and secure, comfort the feeble minded, succour the tempted, instruct the ignorant, and quicken, animate, and encourage all."

"The conclusion of his life and ministry was a peaceful and happy death, without those raptures which some boast of, but with perfect resignation to the will of God, and good hope and humble confidence in Christ Jesus, who was the sum of his doctrine and the end of his conversation."

1693. Henry Flint, Esq. A. M. son of Rev. Josiah Flint of Dorchester. He was fifty-five years a tutor at Harvard College, and one of the Fellows of the Corporation sixty. He died February 13, 1760. A discourse was delivered at his funeral by Rev. Dr. Appleton from Psalm cxii. 7. which pays a just tribute to his piety, learning, and worth; and an elegant Latin oration by James Lovell, A. M.

A volume of Mr. Flint's sermons was published in 1739, which possesses considerable merit.

1695. John Robinson, A. M. ordained at Duxborough, Nov. 18, 1702, where he was minister nearly forty years. Died 1739, aged 64.

1698. Richard Billings, A. M. son of Ebenezer Billings of Dorchester, baptized Sept. 23, 1677. He was settled at Compton in the state of Rhode-Island.

1700. Robert Breck, A. M. son of John Breck of Dorchester, baptized Dec. 10, 1682. Ordained at Marlborough October 25, 1704. Died Jan. 6, 1731, *Æt.* 49.

1701. Samuel Wifwall, A. M. son of Enoch Wifwall of Dorchester, baptized Sept. 21, 1679. The following character of him is extracted from the Boston Gazette for the year 1746, No. 1325.

“ Rev. and venerable Mr. Samuel Wifwall, late pastor of the church at Edgartown, was a son of worthy and pious parents in the town of Dorchester ; had his education in Harvard College, where he made good proficiency in learning, and had a good character for his sobriety.

After he had taken his degree of M. A. in the year 1704, designed to devote himself to the work of the ministry, he offered himself to the examination of an association of approved divines, to try his qualifications for the sacred employment which he desired to engage in : and, having their good approbation and encouragement, he preached awhile transiently as he had opportunity ; and went a foreign voyage chaplain of a ship, which was unhappily taken by the Spaniards and carried into *Martinico*, where he underwent a dangerous fit of sickness, but God sparing his life he returned to his country again.

Here he preached as God called him to it, and his labours were well accepted. Particularly at *Nantucket* he preached about half a year, and was well esteemed of by the people of every profession there.

On his return from *Nantucket*, he was invited to preach at *Edgartown*, as an assistant to the very pious and aged Mr. Jonathan Dunham, and was ordained a pastor of that church in the year 1713, where he continued his faithful and painful labours as long as he lived.

He was, by all competent judges who knew him, esteemed a learned and judicious divine. His sermons were well composed and rational, and upon well chosen subjects ; though his utterance was not so free and flowing as some others. His prayers were very fervent, and well suited to the occasions of them. His memory was so good that he had no need of notes in the delivery of his discourses.

He was a person of eminent and singular piety, which greatly recommended him and all that he did ; a faithful, kind, obliging, and instructive friend ; charitable and candid to all who differed from him in sentiment ; remarkably humble, he willingly took up with a very small salary, and gave considerable part of it to his poor neighbours. He chose never to engage in matrimony, that he might not be encumbered with too many of the cares of this life, but that he might attend the work of the ministry without distraction ; and gave himself to reading, meditation, and prayer.

He was more careful to avoid even all the very appearances of evil, and would sometimes say he was " more afraid of sin than of hell."

He was often infirm with regard to his bodily state, and in the last years of his life his infirmities increased upon him : and his not abating his labours in proportion to the decay of his strength has been supposed to hasten his death ; especially in the time of the sickness and mortality a little before he died it is thought that he underwent more than he was well able to bear.

He died at last suddenly, having been in his study the day before his death, which was on the 23d of Dec. 1746, in the 68th year of his age."

1702. Peleg Wifwall, A. M. School-master at the north end, Boston. Died 1767, aged 84.

1703. Elijah Danforth, A. M. son of Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester, baptized Dec. 2, 1683. He was a physician at Castle William [now Fort Independence], and died October 8, 1736, aged 53.

1704. Ebenezer White, son of James White of Dorchester, baptized July 12, 1685. Ordained at Attleborough October 17, 1716.

1711. Samuel Blake, A. M. son of John Blake of Dorchester, born Sept. 26, 1691 : was a school-master at Barnstable.

1715. Samuel Danforth, A. M. son of Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester ; baptized Nov. 15, 1696. He was judge of the court, and in 1774 a mandamus counsellor. He died 1777, aged 81.

1723. Nathaniel Glover, A. M. Clerk in the store of Thomas Hancock, Esq. of Boston.

1724. Philips Payson, A. M. First minister of Walpole. Ordained in the year 1728, died January 22, 1778, aged 74.

—— Isaac Billings, A. M. Resided in Milton.

—— Richard Pierce, A. M. Minister at Dartmouth, since called New-Bedford : ordained in 1737. "He was obliged to leave the profession, after a certain number of years, on account of bodily infirmities."

1725. Ichabod Wiswall : for many years a school-master at Martha's Vineyard.

—— James Robinson, A. M. Physician at Newport.

1729. Samuel Mosely, A. M. Pastor of the church at Hampton in Connecticut. He died July 26, 1791, in the 83d year of his age and 57th of his ministry, after a tedious confinement of nine years from a paralytick shock, attended with pains caused by rheumatick and asthmatick disorders extremely distressing, and at times excruciating. His patience and resignation under these complicated disorders was exemplary ; and his constant regard to the interest of religion was very conspicuous in his improving the last remains of his life, strength, and reason (which last by a kind providence was remarkably continued to him amidst the united attack of so many diseases) in frequent heavenly conversation, and making use of every opportunity to vindicate the doctrines, and advance the cause of religion.

Mr. Mosely was honoured as an accomplished gentleman and scholar. He was a careful economist, but given to hospitality ; remarkably intrepid in whatever he thought his duty, both with regard to practice and opinion, but open to conviction, and when led to discover his mistake, frank in confessing it. He was zealous to maintain a strict discipline, and though some might think him rigid in some instances, he thought the danger in the churches in general was on the other extreme. — In his ministerial character he was a faithful servant of Jesus Christ ; a sound skilful divine, carefully steering between the extremes of scepticism and bigotry, and of censoriousness and universal catholicism. He avoided such doctrines on the

the one hand as would discourage a diligent attendance on the means of grace, or on the other would encourage persons to place an undue dependance on their own endeavours. He advocated the necessity, sufficiency, and efficacy, of the atonement—the free and sovereign grace of God, the absolute necessity of regeneration, and a divine influence to support it. At the same time he boldly inculcated the utility and necessity of moral duties.

A sermon was preached at his funeral by Rev. James Cogswell D. D. of Windham, from Revelations iv. 17. in which are some more particular traits of his character as a minister, a parent, and a friend, which places it in a very respectable light.

1730. William Royal, A. M.

—— Lemuel Trott.

1731. Supply Clap, A. M. for a number of years minister at Woburn.

1732. Mather Withington, eldest son of Mr. Ebenezer Withington of Dorchester. After he took his degree he kept a school at Cape-Ann. He commenced preaching, and much esteemed for his talents, virtues, and piety. He died April 28, 1736. His manuscripts in arithmetick, geography, geometry and astronomy, discover his great proficiency in those sciences. He had calculated eclipses for many years. These manuscripts were purchased by Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston for his son, “between whom and young Mr. Withington was an intimate acquaintance.” They are now in the possession of his brother, Capt. Ebenezer Withington. They bear a handsome tribute to the ingenuity, learning, and piety of Mr. Withington in the hand writing of Mr. Prince.

1735. Gillam Tailor, A. M. physician, son of William Tailor, Esq. lieutenant-governour.

—— Noah Clap, A. M. This worthy gentleman was a descendant from one of the most ancient and pious families in New-England; and inherited and exemplified their simplicity of manners, sincerity, purity, and piety.

For several years he was exercised in various places as a preacher of the gospel, but on account of the precarious state of his health never settled in the ministry.

For eighteen years he kept the grammar school in Dorchester;

chester ; for more than thirty was treasurer and select-man ; and for forty-seven was town clerk.

He was a great antiquarian, and had stored up a vast fund of information respecting the early settlement and history of this country. The late Dr. Belknap found great assistance in his most interesting researches from consulting him.

He deceased April 10, 1799, aged 82 ; leaving behind him a widow and six children.

A tribute of respect was paid to his memory, by the writer of this, on the Lord's day after his decease, in a sermon from those words, 2 Corinthians i. 12, in themselves strikingly descriptive of his manners, his conversation, his life, and his hope.

1741. Thomas Jones, A. M. minister at Woburn a number of years : died March 13, 1774, aged 53.

1742. Nathaniel Hatch, A. M.

1744. Edward Bais, A. M. and D. D. He was born at Dorchester, Nov. 23, 1726 ; and entered college at the early age of thirteen. From the time of taking his first degree, till he received that of Master of Arts, he was engaged in instructing a school, occupying his leisure hours in such studies as were suitable to the profession for which he was intended. From 1747 to 1751, he resided at the college, making progress in theological studies, and occasionally supplying vacant pulpits in the Congregational churches. In 1752, at the invitation of the Episcopal society in Newburyport, he went to England, and on the 24th day of May was ordained by the excellent Dr. Thomas Sherlock, then bishop of London, in his chapel at Fulham. In the autumn of the same year he returned to New-England, and soon after took charge of the church in Newbury, at that time vacant by the death of Rev. Matthias Plant.

In July, 1789, the university of Pennsylvania conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In 1796, he was unanimously elected, by the convention of the Protestant Episcopal churches of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the office of bishop of that church ; and was accordingly consecrated in Christ Church on the 7th day of May, 1797, by the bishops of Pennsylvania, New-York, and

and Maryland. On the 27th day of the same month he was received and acknowledged in the most affectionate and respectful manner by the clergy of his diocese then assembled in Trinity Church, Bolton. Some time after, the Episcopal churches in the state of Rhode-Island elected him their bishop, and the last summer a convention of the churches in New-Hampshire also put themselves under his jurisdiction.

Bishop Bafs was a sound divine, a critical scholar, an accomplished gentleman, and an exemplary christian. On the 10th of September, 1803, after an illness of but two days, he died as he had lived, full of piety, resignation, and humility.

In the same class with Dr. Bafs was Samuel Bird, of Dorchester; but he did not obtain his degree in consequence of some rash censures upon some of the governours of the college and the venerable clergyman of Cambridge, which were dictated by religious enthusiasm. He was afterwards settled as a minister at New-Haven, where he died.

— James Humphrey, A. M. the first minister at Pequog, since called Athol. Born March 20, 1722. Died May 8, 1796, aged 74.

1753. Thomas Oliver, A. M. lieutenant-governour in the year 1774.

1755. Jonathan Bowman, A. M. son of Rev. Jonathan Bowman of Dorchester. *Now living in the District of Maine.*

1760. James Baker, A. M. *Now living in Dorchester.*

1761. John Bafs, brother to bishop Bafs. *Now living.*

— Daniel Leeds, A. M. school-master at Dorchester about fifteen years. Died June 7, 1790, aged 57.

1764. William Bowman, A. M. son of Rev. Jonathan Bowman. *Now living.*

1769. James Blake. He entered college at the age of fifteen; and exhibited there an eminent pattern of studiousness and proficiency in learning. Distinguished for the purity of his morals, the exemplariness of his conduct, and the sweetness of his temper, he conciliated the love of all his fellow students, and the high approbation of his instructors. After taking his first degree, he went to Weymouth to take the charge of a school, which he kept to general satisfaction. That employment he resigned, in
about

about nine months, and devoted himself to the study of divinity under the instruction of Rev. Mr. Smith.—“He pursued this his favourite study with unwearied assiduity for a year, and then began the important work of the ministry, but not without great reluctance; for he had determined not to preach till he had acquired a perfect knowledge in the fundamental parts of religion (which cannot be done in the small space of a year.) But Mr. Smith being sick, he was many times urged to supply his place until he recovered, which, after repeated denials, he did. Thus having made a beginning, he continued almost every sabbath till he died.”

“With respect to his publick character, he did not affect to be ostentatious, and to divert the minds of his hearers by a flow of words to little significance, but his main design was to edify them in the way of their duty: accordingly his discourses were plain and instructive; and his delivery was easy and agreeable, accompanied with a few natural gestures.”

“In his private character he was sober and temperate, friendly and sociable, and in conversation entertaining and edifying. To these was joined an even temper and disposition of mind; all which made him very agreeable.”

He died November 17, 1771, after a very short illness, wanting one month of being twenty-one years old.

A small volume of his sermons was published by his friends, which discover a strength of mind, a clear and comprehensive intellect, a knowledge of theoretical and practical divinity, and an ardent piety, truly wonderful in so young a person. From the biographical sketch annexed to that work the above particulars are extracted.

1772. John Homans, A. M. During the American war a surgeon in the army, and afterwards settled as a physician in Boston. In 1790 he was elected a fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society. “Dr. Homans had received from nature a great share of superiour sense, which was well cultivated, and evinced a mind rich in bright ideas and refinedly polished by education. As a physician he was not inferiour to any of his age; he was employed much, and greatly approved.” The duties of this profession

fection he discharged with great tenderness and humanity ; and in behalf of the poor with disinterested benevolence.

Having been several years quite an invalid, in the year 1800 he undertook a voyage to the north-west coast of America for the recovery of his health, but died on the second day after the departure of the vessel, June 3, in the 47th year of his age.

- 1782. Jonathan Bird, A. M.
- 1783. Daniel Leeds, A. M.
- 1787. Benjamin Beale, A. M.
- 1793. John Pierce, A. M. ordained at Brookline March 15, 1797.
- 1794. James Blake Howe,
- 1795. Samuel Topliff, A. M.
- 1796. Moses Everett, A. M.
- 1797. Elifha Clap, A. M. Tutor.
- Henry Gardner, A. M. M. B.
- 1802. Joseph Gardner.
- Benjamin Andrews Hitchborn.
- James Keadie Swan.

} Now living.

*Chronological particulars, extracted principally from the first book of the Church Records of Dorchester.**

In the list of church members in the year 1636, are Rev. William Tompson, Rev. George Moxon, and Rev. Samuel Newman. Respecting the first I cannot obtain any information. Mr. Moxon was one of the ejected ministers.† He was the first minister of Springfield ; afterwards he returned to England, and died there September 15, 1687, aged 85. Mr. Newman preached sometime at Weymouth, and then settled as teacher of the church in Rehoboth. He compiled the work which passes under the name of " the Cambridge Concordance." His decease was July 5, 1663.

1652. " A collection was made in the town for the maintenance of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and for the assistance of poor scholars."

1659. July 5. " The teaching and ruling elders met at Roxbury,

* These are published as furnishing some important dates. A few notes are added.

† Calamy, Vol. II. page 128.

Roxbury, with the messengers of other churches, to hear the Indians make a relation of the work of God upon their soul. At which time there were six that made their relation in the Indian tongue, which was repeated by Mr. Eliot in English, and the truth of each relation was witnessed to by Mr. Pearson of Long-Island, by goodman Fordgier of Martha's Vineyard, and by Mr. Eliot's own son. And because the time would not permit for the other two Indians to make their relation there, that which they made the day before to Mr. Pearson was declared by him. Many questions were put to the Indians, in point of knowledge; and their answers were to the great rejoicing of the hearers."*

1660. Aug. 26. "Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other christians at Lancaster, a church might be begun there."

1661. April 28. "Mr. Eleazer Mather, William Clarke, Henry Curliffe, and Henry Woodward, were dismissed to join with some others for the gathering of a church at Northampton."

1664. July 17. "A letter was read to the church from the brethren dwelling at Nonandom;† who, intending to gather a church, desired messengers to be sent from this church to assist therein. The which was granted, and the teaching and ruling elders were chosen. The day appointed is the 20th of this inst. at which time Mr. John Eliot is to be ordained pastor,‡ and Thomas Wifwall, a late member of this church, to be ruling elder."

— 14th day of 12th month. "Mr. Torrey ordained at Weymouth.

1665. Nov. 19. Mr. Shore ordained at Taunton."

1666. "A contribution was made for poor distressed Christians in England, on account of the great fire and plague in London. The whole amounted to £.40 13 9½."

1667.

* The "Relations" of these Indians were afterwards published in a small pamphlet, from which some account of them is extracted, and annexed to this Chronology.

† Afterwards called Cambridge-Village, and since Newton.

‡ For some account of Mr. Eliot see Morton's New-England's Memorial, p. 242.

Probably Abraham Pierson forth.

1667. April 7. "A contribution for the distressed people at Cape Fear: amount £.8 4 11½."

— September 9. "A contribution for the King's fleet at the Kirby Islands. £.20."

1668. May 3. Role-on-God, the son of Mr. John Cotton, baptized by virtue of communion of churches; his father being a member of the church at Boston, but there is no officer there to dispense the ordinance at present.*

— Dec. 9. "Mr. Davenport ordained pastor, and Mr. Allen teacher in the church at Boston."

1670. May 4. "Mr. Oxenbridge ordained at Boston."

— Sept. 13. "Mr. Whitman ordained at Hull."

1672. Sept. 11. "Mr. Moses Fiske ordained at Braintree."†

1673. Dec. 3. "Mr. William Adams ordained at Dedham."‡

1674. Feb. 24. "Died Mr. William Poole, aged 81. He came hither from England; he was a sage, reverend and pious man of God. He was clerk of writs, and register of births, deaths, and marriages in Dorchester about ten years, and often a school-master in the town."

— Nov. 19. "Died Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury, aged 47."

1675. Jan. 5. "A collection made for Mr. Corlet for his labour in preaching during Mr. Flint's sickness.¶"

1677. — "Mr. Shepherd of Charlestown died of the small-pox."

1678. March 31. "Rev. Mr. Willard installed over the third church in Boston. He had been minister at Groton, but his people there were scattered by reason of the war."§

— April 24. "There was a church gathered at Milton. It was constituted in our meeting-house at Dorchester,

* The name was afterwards spelt *Roland*, but in the Records it is written as above. He was minister at Sandwich.

† He died Aug. 10, 1708, aged 66.

‡ He died Aug. 17, 1685.

¶ Ammi-Ruhamah Corlet, Fellow of Harvard College, died March 1, 1678.

§ Died Sept. 12, 1707.

chester, by the assistance of the elders and messengers of the three churches in Boston and Weymouth, Braintree and Dedham. The magistrates were acquainted with it, but only the governour was here, by reason of the wet and snow season. Mr. Allen did first pray, and then Mr. Flint preached, and afterwards prayed. Afterward the brethren were called on, one after another to declare the work of grace that God had wrought on them to the number of seven ; but before they began it was put to the whole assembly, both messengers and others, whether any had any just reason against their proceeding, but all were silent. After they had made their relations, a confession of faith was read by our Elder, unto which they all consented by lifting up of hands. Then those seven brethren were called down into the body of the assembly, and a covenant read unto them unto which they all consented by lifting up of hands. The brethren that entered into this covenant, and made publick relation were these :

Robert Tucker, member of Weymouth.

Anthony Newton

William Blake

Thomas Swift

George Sumner

Ebenezer Clap

} Members of Dorchester church.

Edward Blake, member of the second church in Boston.

After this was done, there were more of our brethren that did at the same time enter into the same covenant with the former, namely,

Thomas Holman,

George Lyon,

Ephraim Tucker,

Manasseh Tucker and

James Tucker.

And then Mr. Torey was appointed to give the right hand of fellowship ; and Mr. Mather prayed, and a psalm was sung, and the assembly dismissed."

— Nov. 27. "Mr. Norton ordained at Hingham."

— Dec. 1. "Kept by the church as a day of Thanksgiving for the restoration of Capt. Clap to health again ; he having been sick about a year and an half."

1680. Sept. 15. "A fast in Dorchester on account of Mr. Flint's sickness."

1681. June 1. "Mr Thacher ordained at Milton.*"
1688. October 7. Mr. Walter ordained at Roxbury."
1693. Nov. 29. "Rev. Joseph Bachelor ordained at Dedham."†
1696. April 8. "Mr. Wadsworth ordained at Boston."
1697. April 21. "Mr. Joseph Baxter ordained at Medfield."
1700. August 28. "Mr. Pemberton ordained at Boston."
1702. August. "The mortality at New-York is fore and dreadful. A fast, on account of the sickness there and here. The deaths in Boston in about twelve months amount to 500."
1703. Sept. 26. "Rev. James Bailey ordained at Weymouth."
"Rev. Mr. Gardner of Lancaster shot by the centry by mistake."
1704. Dec. 10. "Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarke's death, of Chelmsford, lamented in a sermon on Acts xx. 25,&c."‡
1705. May 10. "Mr. T. Bridge ordained in Boston."
1707. April 21. "Rev. Mr. Torrey of Weymouth deceased, who had been 50 years in the ministry; an able, painful, faithful, minister of Christ. *Æt.* 76 or 77.— He was born some weeks before his time, and was kept in warm lamb-skins till the full proper time came."
—— Nov. 26. "Peter Thacher, jun. (nephew to Rev. Mr. Thacher of Milton, ordained at Weymouth."
1708. August 23. "Aged Mr. Cheever, a school-master in Boston died, aged 94."
—— Dec. 9. "Rev. Mr. Higginson deceased."
1709. April. "Mr. Cotton, pastor of East-Hampton died suddenly."
—— ——— 9. "Contribution for Mr. Joseph Mors, who preaches at our village."

1709.

* Died Dec. 24, 1727, aged 77.

† Died April 27, 1723, aged 53.

‡ "A great loss to all our towns, and especially to our frontiers on that side of the country, who are greatly weakened with the loss of such a worthy man." Fairfield's MS. Journal.

1709. May 18. "Mr. Joseph Marsh ordained at Brintree.†"

1711. May 23. "Mr. Samuel Niles ordained at Brintree, first precinct."

— Nov. 1. "Mr. John Avery ordained at Truro."

1712. Aug. 25. "Rev. Mr. Hobart of Newton deceased, aged 64. He had preached there about forty years; been ordained thirty-eight. *Vir doctus, prudens, pacificus.*"

— Nov. 26. "Mr. Thayer ordained pastor of the second church in Roxbury."

1714. June 11. "Dr. Smith died."

— Sept. 2. "Public fast on account of the drought. No rain until Sept. 22, saving a shower on the Lord's day evening preceding the fast at Dorchester on July 20th and on August 8th and once or twice a little sprinkling. Yet afterwards there was a good harvest of Indian corn."

— Oct. 18. "Mr. Thomas Danforth died at Surinam."

1716. May 23. "Mr. William Cooper ordained at Boston."

— — 24. "Fast at Dorchester, many being sick."

1717. Feb. 24. "Snow in drifts twenty-five feet deep; in the woods a yard generally on a level."

— Aug. 15. "In our village (Punkipog) seventy sick."

1718. June 11. "Mr. Ebenezer Gay ordained at Hingham."

1719. March 22. "Contribution for Mr. Mors."

1721. Oct. 4. "Mr. Perkins ordained at Bridgewater."

— Dec. 6. "Fast at Dorchester on account of the small-pox."

1722. June 6. "Mrs. Danforth died, aged 52."

1723. May 6. "Mr. Samuel Dexter ordained at Dedham."‡

1724. May 18. "Voted to give from three to four pounds annually to subsist Rev. Mr. Moody at Providence."

— August 16. "Letter from Chatham from Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Morse; but the church would not send messengers so far."

1724.

† Died March 8, 1726, aged 41.

‡ Died January 29, 1755, aged 55.

1724. Nov. 17. "The council to which we sent messengers, approve of Mr. Fitch's asking a dismissal from the church at Ipswich, and accepting the invitation from Portsmouth."

"*Memorandum.* Before the last commencement Mr. Leverett, president of Harvard College, died suddenly : and in the end of September, governor Saltonstall died suddenly. Men of bright accomplishments."

1725. Nov. 24. "Mr. Ezra Carpenter ordained at Hull."

1726. March. "Mr. Glover died in London."

— July. "Rev. Theophilus Cotton of Hampton died."

— Sept. 5. "Rev. Mr. White was buried."

— Nov. 2. "Rev. John Hancock ordained at Braintree."*

— — 5. "Rev. Zech. Whitman of Hull deceased, aged 82. *Vir pius, humilis, orthodoxus, utilissimus.*"

1727. October 27, and following ; "several flocks of an earthquake."

— Nov. 7. "Fast at Dorchester on account of the earthquake."

— — 14. "Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton deceased to the public loss."

— — 15. "Rev. Mr. Dunbar ordained at Stoughton."

— Dec. 17. "Mr. Thacher of Milton died, aged 77."

1728, 9. Feb. 16. "Mr. Ebenezer Clap and Mr. Philips Payson chosen to go to Taunton with the ordained officers of the church to the ordination of Mr. Thomas Clap on the 26th inst."

— July. "Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, Rev. Mr. Blowers of Beverly, and the Rev. Mr. Cotton of Bristol, are lately deceased to the great loss of our churches."

Notices of Pious Indians.

[Referred to in page 192.]

"Waban was the first that received the gospel. Our first meeting was at his house. The next time we met he had gathered a great company of his friends to hear the word,

* Died May 7, 1744, aged 42.

word, in the which he hath been stedfast. When we framed ourselves in order in way of government, he was chosen a ruler of fifty. He hath approved himself to be a good christian in church order and in civil order ; and a zealous, faithful, and stedfast ruler to his death."

"Piambohau. He was the second man next Waban that received the gospel. He brought with him to the second meeting at Waban's house many. When we formed them into government, he was chosen ruler of ten. When the church at *Hassenemassit* was gathered, he was called to be a ruler in it ; when that was scattered by the war, they came back to *Natick* church so many as survived ; and at *Natick* he died."

"Old Jacob. He was among the first that prayed to God. He had so good a memory that he could rehearse the whole catechize, both questions and answers. When he gave thanks at meat, he would sometimes only say the Lord's prayer."

"Antony. He was among the first that prayed to God. He was studious to read the scriptures and his catechize, so that he learned to be a teacher. But after the wars he became a lover of strong drink ; was often admonished ; and finally cast out from being a teacher."

He was exceedingly penitent at his death.

"Nehemiah. This hopeful young man was going out to hunt, with a companion who fell out with him, and stabbed him mortally and killed him. The wicked murderer fled."

"John Owussumug, sen. He was a young man when they began to pray to God. He did not at the present join with them. He would say to me, *I will first see to it, and when I understand it I will answer you.* He did after awhile enter into the civil covenant, but was not entered into church covenant before he died. He was propounded to join to the church, but was delayed, he being of a quick passionate temper. Some litigations prolonged it till his sickness ; but had he recovered the church was satisfied to have received him by finishing well."

He was sick and in a great pain a whole year before his death.

"John Speen. He was among the first that prayed to God.

God. He was a diligent reader. He became a teacher, and carried well for divers years, until the sin of strong drink did infect us, and then he was so far infected with it that he was deservedly laid aside from teaching."

"Black James. He was in former times reputed by the English to be a *Paraw*, but I cannot tell this. I know he renounced and repented of all his former ways, and desired to come to Christ and pray to God, and died well."

NOTES ON COMPTON, A TOWNSHIP IN NEWPORT COUNTY, STATE OF RHODE-ISLAND. SEPTEMBER, 1803.

Situation. Boundaries.

COMPTON is situated in north latitude $41^{\circ} 29'$. west longitude from Greenwich $71^{\circ} 11'$. It is bounded north by Tiverton; east by Westport (Mass.); south by the Atlantick ocean; and west by Taunton river, which is sometimes called the east part of Nantasket bay. This river separates Compton from Rhode-Island. It is seventy miles south from Boston; thirty miles south-east from Providence; and six miles east of Newport. The Indian name of the place is Seakonnet, Sagkonate, or Sogkonate. Sogkonate is the name which is used by Church in his history of Philip's war. Whence it assumed its present name is uncertain. It was incorporated Little Compton; but as there is no place of a similar name in America, if in the whole world, the term "Little" has of late been properly dropped, as a useless and cumbersome epithet.

Ponds.

There are four ponds in the place, which are called Quicksand, Tunipis or Tunipus, Long pond, and Round pond. The two first lie on the east part of the town; the two last near Sogkonate point. Quicksand is a mile long, fifty rods wide in the middle, from four to six feet deep, is fed by small brooks, and contains fish. Tunipis is fifty rods long, perhaps a mile in circuit, and has no fish. Long pond is nearly drained at the expense of sixty dollars, and has made forty acres of land worth one hundred dollars

lars an acre. Round pond is too inconsiderable to be described.

Trees. Grass.

Among the trees, which here seem to be indigenous, are the white, black, and red oak ; maple ; beech ; hickory ; willow ; poplar ; and balm of Gilead.

On the upland and meadows grow burdens grass, ribwort, white weed, red top, clover, and herds grass.

Soil. Produce.

The soil of this township is superiour to that of the generality of land in the state. It is a mixture of clay and gravel at bottom, and the loam on the surface is blackish, heavy, and prolifick. It is well fitted to hold water and manure ; sustains a drought unusually long ; but when thoroughly dry, requires copious rains to supply it with water.

Indian corn is here better, than what commonly grows in Massachusetts. An acre often produces more than forty bushels. The common produce of the country is the produce of Compton. Flax, potatoes, oats, hay, butter, cheese, beef, pork, poultry, and barley, are produced in plenty. Not much rye is raised, on account of its being so frequently blasted. But barley is cultivated with great success. Ten thousand bushels are said to be annually exported.

Mode of thrashing.

There is a mode of thrashing barley practised here, which is uncommon, if not utterly new, in some parts of the country. When a barley heap is to be thrashed, previous care is taken to have it placed on a hard and level plat. A quantity of barley in the sheaf is then laid in a circular train to be trampled upon by horses. Sometimes three or four horses are ridden round upon the barley by boys ; at other times a man stands in the centre of the circle, and with the reins in one hand, and a whip in the other, drives two or three pairs of young horses round upon the barley ; whilst another person is employed with a rake to turn the barley, and expose it properly to the action of the horses' feet. When the grain of one layer is thus

thus thoroughly beaten from the straw, the latter is raked into an heap without the circle, and the former into an heap within. Another layer of barley forms a new sheet for the horses, and the driver on the heap of grain recommences the operation of driving them round. This manner of thrashing has been practised in this town four or five years, and succeeds so well, as to render the flail almost useless. In this way the grain is both effectually separated from the straw, and separated more expeditiously and cheaply than by the method ordinarily used in Massachusetts. Two men and six horses will thrash an hundred bushels of barley in one day.

Stone Wall.

The farmers here are particularly careful to fence their enclosures with stone wall, which is the only fence used. From the settlement of the place, it has been distinguished in this respect. Thomas Church, Esq. a representative of the town, when Compton was part of Massachusetts, told his fellow representatives, who were conversing on the agricultural improvements of the country, that there was stone wall enough in Compton to reach thence in a straight line to Boston. But they considered him as speaking in round numbers, and began to be somewhat merry with the 'squire, likening his account to stories, which any body might innocently tell, but which nobody would fully believe. Mr. Church returned home, and, in company with some of his calculating neighbours, made a pretty accurate estimate of the quantity of their stone wall. On again meeting his associates, at the next session of the General Court, he told them he had indeed committed an error concerning the stone wall; for he found on examination that there was enough to reach to Boston *on both sides of the way*. The Indians, who were formerly numerous in the town, and who were remarkable for the excellence of their stone wall, were much employed in this kind of labour. When they failed of fulfilling their contract with their employers, they were flagellated.

Manure. Price of Labour.

The farmers are now in the practice of gathering large quantities of sea weed on the shore for the purpose of

manure. Sometimes it is used alone, but more commonly mixed with the dunghills of the barn yard ; and after fermenting there a season the compost is carted on to the grounds. This sea weed was formerly of no account.

The price of labour varies in the different seasons of the year. A common labourer has from fifty to eighty cents a day, and from ten to twelve dollars a month.

Windmills.

Windmills may be seen on almost every eminence in this part of the country ; and in some instances they make a ragged and grotesque appearance. From the want of uniformity in their mechanism, it should seem, that the best principles of constructing these machines, so useful to agriculture and domestick convenience, are not yet settled.

Natural History.

Among the birds usually observed in this place are the robin red-breast, sparrow (*fringilla domestica*, L.) woodpecker (*picus erycephalus*), yellow-bird (*emberiza citrinella*), Bob o' Lincoln, blue-bird (*motacilla sialis*), quail (*tetrao coturnix*), lark (*arvensis*), night-hawk, whip-poor-will, martin (*hirundino urbana*), house-swallow, wren (*motacilla troglodytes*), humming-bird, cat-bird, tame goose, duck, &c.

Of beasts there are here such as are common to New-England.

The fishes which are taken in the ponds, and among the rocks along the sea-shore are called the sheepshead, sea-bass, tautog, blue fish, cod, mackerel, squetereg, grunners, hat-fish, frost-fish or smelts, and eels.

Serpents, frogs, toads, and the common snake, (*coluber natrix*, L.) are found in the place ; but no vipers nor rattlesnakes. The old Indians were used to say, that if the rattlesnakes should come from Tiverton woods, where they are numerous, *the pismires would eat their eyes out*. Rattlesnakes, formerly, were much dreaded in the vicinity of Tiverton ; and their bite was more terrible to Church's men, in the war with Philip, than the arrows of the Indians.*

Concerning the insects of this region there is nothing peculiar. The husbandman is here sometimes infested
with

* See Church's Hist. p. 16.

with earth worms, which are greatly injurious. The *white worm*, as it is called, has lately made its appearance, and is destructive of the corn and grafs. But this worm is by no means so great a plague as the *gray worm*, perhaps the *palmer worm*, which visited this town about thirty-three years ago. These worms, which never before nor since were known in the place, were then so numerous, that a man could not set his foot on any part of his farm without treading upon eight or ten. Whole fields of barley fell before them ; and after finishing their depredations, they gathered themselves in cart loads by the sides of stone walls, to die ; as though, after blasting by their life the hope of the farmer with regard to his grain, they were determined by their death, to render the air unfit for respiration.

Roads.

The roads are laid out wide and straight ; but they are not yet formed. A laudable practice obtains here of planting trees beside the road within the enclosures. They are at once useful and ornamental. The poorer class of people however are in a bad habit of filching part of the road, and fencing it in for the purpose of improvement. This practice not only spoils the beauty of the road in the day-time, but endangers the traveller by night. In some cases he is quite diverted from the straight course, and obliged to find his way along by the side of the wall.

Houses. Inhabitants.

There are in Compton about two hundred houses, which contain, perhaps, sixteen hundred persons. Their style of building, like that of their dress and tables is humble and unadorned. They are hospitable to strangers, and friendly in their intercourse with each other ; but seem carefully to avoid every thing like extravagance in living and refinement in manners.

Health. Longevity.

The most common disorders are of the inflammatory kind. In the spring of the year pleurifies are sometimes prevalent. But on the whole, Compton is thought remarkable for the health and longevity of its inhabitants.

Probably

Probably one out of five of all the inhabitants, who have been born in the place, have lived to the age of seventy years. Fifty persons now living in the town have reached that period. A man and his wife, by the name of Wildboar, had nine children, who all lived to be above seventy. Many have lived to be between ninety and a hundred ; but none has exceeded the last mentioned number.

Indians.

Many of the subjects of Awashonks, squaw sachem of the Sogkonate Indians, of whom the soil was originally purchased, continued inhabitants of the place, and lived in habits of amity with the English settlers for many years. At the commencement of the last century, these people were so numerous in the town, that they were in the practice of assembling together for religious worship, and formed a decent congregation. They had a meeting-house of their own, in which Rev. Mr. Billings instructed them once a month, on the Lord's-day. Their stated preacher was John Simon, one of their brethren ; a man of strong mind ; prevailingly temperate, but occasionally devious ; whose object was the welfare of the Indians, and who thought it right to use cunning in obtaining it. So influential was this Indian preacher in maintaining order in his flock, that he was made a justice of the peace. Accordingly when the Indians were in fault, John was associated with the English justice to do away wrongs. It happened on a time that some Indians were delinquent. Col. Almy and John were judges in the case. After examination was had, said the former to the latter, concerning one and another of those in default, " how many stripes shall these Indians receive ? I think they should receive eight or ten stripes." " No," said John, " four or five are enow ; poor Indians are ignorant, and it is not christian-like to punish so hardly those who are ignorant, as those who have knowledge." So John's opinion prevailed. But John's squaw was among the delinquents. " Well," said justice Almy, " what shall *she* receive ?" " Double," replied John, " because she had knowledge to have done better." Col. A. however, knowing that John loved his wife, and thinking to do him a favour, had her punishment

ment wholly remitted. John was silent upon this subject whilst the offenders were present, but assigned another time and place, where he met Col A. and severely remonstrated against his unjust sentence in favour of the squaw, saying, "To what purpose, Col. A. do we preach a religion of justice, if we do unrighteousness in judgment? Here, you have given stripes to such as were less guilty than my wife, but to her you have given none." The Colonel so poignantly felt the reproof, as most cordially to wish that the squaw had been flagellated.

About fifty years since a most destructive fever carried its ravages among the Indians in this quarter. From that time they have been rapidly wasting. There are now not more than ten Indians in the town.

Ecclesiastical Affairs,

There are here two religious sects only, Congregationalists and Quakers. The latter are not numerous. They have however a meeting-house, in which they assemble on Sundays and Wednesdays. There are a few persons who pretend to be a sort of Quakers, but who in fact are nothingarians. Among the lower ranks of society in this region marks of disaffection to religious and political institutions are often witnessed. The Congregational church was the original religious society. When the town was incorporated, a right of land was granted to the exclusive use of the ministry. This right was a thirty-second part of the whole town. Notwithstanding the appropriation, part of it by some means early got into the hands of the town, now remains there, and, from the circumstance of its alienation, is called Pilfershire. Two hundred and thirty acres of land, worth nearly ten thousand dollars, continue successfully to answer the purpose of the primitive grant.

Nov. 1, 1700. Rev. Peter Thacher and Rev. John Danforth visited the town, preached to the people, and baptized sixty-five children.

Nov. 1, 1704. William Pabodie and Thomas Gray wrote to the above named gentlemen with others, who, on the 29th of the same month, came and ordained Rev. Richard Billings pastor of the church. Ten other members signed the church covenant. Mr. Billings was a native

tive of Dorchester, (Mass.) and a graduate of Harvard College in 1698. He was a facetious companion, spent much of his time among his parishioners, and, being fond of medical studies, ministered to their bodily as well as spiritual health,

Rev. Jonathan Ellis, formerly minister of Monument Ponds, Plymouth, was the successor of Mr. B. But of his settlement and death, and of Mr. Billings' death, the records of the church are silent.

Between the death of Mr. Billings and the installation of Mr. Ellis there was a division of sentiment in the parish, which opened way for the introduction of a Mr. Brown, called Domine Brown. He was reputed weak by his enemies, by his friends witty, and by all eccentric. He preached half the day on Lord's-days with Mr. Ellis for some time; but they differed so widely in theological opinions, that the adherents of both thought it expedient for them to preach in two houses. Mr. B. unregretted went hence to Boston, and finally died in the alms-house of that town.

Rev. Mase Shepard, a native of Norton, Mass. and graduate of Dartmouth College, succeeds Mr. Ellis in the pastoral office, and by his zeal for godliness and order enjoys the regards of his christian friends.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF WILLIAM FISK, ESQ. FELLOW OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. BY HON. JAMES WINTHROP, ESQ.

OUR late worthy associate, William Fisk, Esq. was the son of Mr. Samuel Fisk, a worthy farmer of Waltham. He was, as far as I have been able to ascertain, born at Waltham in December, 1753. As he was designed for the university, he was at a proper age placed under the tuition of the late Rev. Mr. Woodward of Weston, who was at the time much esteemed not only for his professional, but for his classical learning. In July, 1768, Mr. Fisk was admitted at the university, and after four years of exemplary conduct and studious application obtained the honours of that society in 1772. He afterward applied

plied to the study of the law, and settled in the practice of that profession in his native town. His integrity and uniform virtue gave him an handsome support, and secured the confidence of those who knew him ; and his social qualities and sportive fancy enlivened his conversation and endeared him to his friends. His love of learning made him active in establishing a town library. He was twice married, and by both wives became the parent of nine children, one of whom is now at the university, and it is hoped will rival the virtues and good qualities of his father. As a member of this literary society his attention to the antiquities of this country was unremitted, and his industry persevering. His belief in christianity produced uniform benevolence and candour to others ; and even in politicks, though he was steady to his first attachment, he never considered it necessary to sacrifice the charities of private friendship to his attachment to party. He was inclined to corpulency, which induced him to use a great deal of exercise, and by this means perhaps he preserved his health in a less interrupted measure, than is usual for studious men. About a year before his death he found his health decreasing, but not in such a degree as to be alarming, or to interrupt his usual employments. On the 12th of August, 1803, he spent the evening abroad. Soon after his return to his house he was seized with a violent pain in his stomach. An illness of only five or six hours terminated his life.

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THE HISTORY OF THE PENOBSCOTT INDIANS. BY HON.
JAMES SULLIVAN, ESQ. L.L.D.

THE Penobscott river collects its waters from a number of small lakes and ponds, remote from each other ; but none of them at a great distance from the sea. The middle, which is the main branch, comes from two or three small ponds, which form a confluence of their streams not far south of the southerly branch of the river St. John, which empties its waters into the bay of Fundy, nearly two hundred miles north-easterly of the mouth of the Penobscott. This branch of the St. John, proceeding from a source found far to the west of the middle branch
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of Penobscott river, runs on a north-east course, washing the foot of the highest ground between the Atlantick and the St. Lawrence. The eastern branch of the Penobscott collects its waters from a chain of small ponds, situate north-easterly from its confluence with the main branch, and near to the western branch of the Passamaquoddy, which forms a part of the boundary between the United States and the British province of New-Brunswick, and runs into the bay of Fundy sixty miles south of the St. John. This branch of the Penobscott is called the Passadumky. The other branch of the Penobscott, called the Piscataonis, has its source near the east side of the river Kennebeck, and runs, in general, a north-east course about thirty miles, to its confluence with the other branches, which unite in one great river.

The Penobscott is navigable only for the length of forty miles from the sea. Vessels of the largest size may float freely, and without danger, on the tide of it, to the foot of the great fall which checks the inflowings of the ocean. The waters of this river are lost in the sea, among a number of respectable and fertile islands, situate between the 44th and 45th degrees of north latitude. This part of the great receptacle bears the name of Penobscott bay.

Wherever the means of subsistence, according to the various manners of different nations, can be most easily obtained, there the distinct tribes of men are seen to collect themselves together. The savages, who were found in the northern part of our continent, were more numerously settled on the banks of great rivers, where their wants were, in a great part, supplied by the abundance of fish which those streams produce. Whatever names they had among themselves to distinguish their tribes by, they were distinguished, by the first European adventurers, by the names of the rivers, or waters, on the banks of which they resided. The tribe, found on the Penobscott river, was always known to the English by the denomination of the Penobscott Indians.

There were various tribes within what is now the District of Maine, but none of them exist at the present day, besides the Penobscott Indians, and a small tribe of about one hundred and thirty persons, who live on the
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bank of the Passamaquoddy river, from which they have their name. These being on the line which separates the United States from the province of New-Brunswick, reside in the summer within that province, remote from the sea, and employ themselves in hunting and taking small fish ; but in the winter reside on the shores of the river near the sea, and within the state of Massachusetts, where they lead a beggarly, wretched life ; feeding on clams and other shell-fish, enduring the most severe distresses of hunger and cold, until the slow returning spring opens with reluctance their path to the wilderness.

There was a principal tribe on the Kennebeck, called the Norridgewocks. This tribe was found under the guidance of Kenebis their chief, after whom the English called the river where they found him. Those Indians were always at war with the white people when those of Penobscott were ; but were less openly hostile after the year 1724, when Moulton and Harmon subdued their fortification, and killed many of them, among whom one Ralle, a French priest, who had for a number of years resided with them, stimulating them to hostilities against the New-England people, was slain to the great joy and exultation of the people of Massachusetts.

That tribe afterwards affected to preserve a neutrality in the time of Indian wars ; but Norridgewock served as a resting place for the Canada Indians, it being conveniently situated about half way between the sea and the high lands ; and one third of the way from the mouth of the Kennebeck to the Canada settlements. It also furnished those hostile savages, who came on expeditions from Canada, with guides and intelligence necessary to the success of their enterprises. Exasperated at this, a number of young men fell upon a party of them in the spring of the year 1749, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, killed one and wounded several others. They were apprehended, all but one who escaped, by a warrant of justice Denny, who lived in Georgetown, but the publick opinion was so strong against the Indians, that the grand jury could not be induced to find a bill of indictment ; the court then sat at York, the whole of the district of Maine, which is now greater in extent as to territory than all

New-England besides, being in one county, called the county of York. The government however made presents to the relations of the deceased, and compensations to the wounded, with an intent to purchase off that insatiable revenge, which the savages always maintain after an injury of this kind.

It appears by the records of the governour and council, that some linen, a brass pail, a blanket, a variety of ornaments, and some money, were presented to the widow; and blankets, ornaments, and money, as well to the relations of the deceased, as to those who had been wounded. There was, soon after this, a treaty, which put an end to this tribe, as will be hereafter noticed.

There was one tribe called the *Wewenocks*, who inhabited at a place called Winnegance, at Montsweag, and Sheepscutt river; but they are now extinct. Further westward were the Androscoggins or Anasaguntacooks on Brunswick river; the Presumscott tribe, the Casco Indians, and the Pigwacket tribe on Saco river. As branches of these, a few families were scattered on small streams on the Ossipee and other rivers. On what is now known by the name of Piscatawa river, there were a number of small tribes, known by the denominations of the *Piscataquas*, the *Newichawanocks*, &c. but the general name of all these tribes and families, was that of the *Abenauquies*. All these are now exterminated, and the Penobscott tribe, consisting, as they were numbered, though by no publick order, in October, 1803, of three hundred and forty-seven souls, are the only native savages, which have lived unmixed with the white people and negroes, preserving the savage aboriginal manners of life, within the commonwealth of Massachusetts. The French adventurers were the first civilized people who settled on Penobscott; they called it Pentaguetville. The adventurers to Plymouth built a trading house there in 1626, and called the river *Penobscott*. The Indian name was *Penobscook*, or *Penobseag*.

The manners of the Penobscott Indians were similar to those of other tribes, found in the wilderness of that part of America, now composing the four northern states of our nation. The precise and gradual progress of any part of the human race, from a state of savage barbarity, where the

the use of iron, or the possession of flocks and herds were unknown, to a state of civilization, has never been marked by the eye of philosophy, or described by the pen of the historian. It is said, that the states of Greece were in so rude a situation, as to their manners and improvements, that they were ignorant of agriculture, of the use of bread, and of that of animal food ; and that they fed altogether on herbs. This is rather a conclusion in argument, than a fact asserted by authority ; and is made, as a deduction from this one fact, that they decreed divine honours to the person who taught them to feed on acorns. They did not arrive at any considerable degree of urbanity, until long after this, when the colonies from Egypt and Phœnicia taught them navigation, literature, commerce, and agriculture.* These states finally arrived to such a pitch of politeness and literature, as to consider all other nations as barbarians. But the manner in which the Egyptians and Phœnicians planted and cultivated the arts among them ; in what manner, or by what means they were improved, does not appear.

If those colonies subdued the country and made the aboriginals slaves, and thus compelled them to relinquish, as a body, their state of barbarism ; and in the course of succeeding generations, changed the habits and propensities of their animal nature, it was a method which has never been tried upon the savages in America. If example, opportunity to be instructed, the love of wealth, the pride of power, the ambition of scientific superiority, could move the heart of an American savage, there would long ago have been some marks of progress to a state of urbanity among them. As the country has been cultivated, those tribes, which lived near the Atlantick, have been wasted by intemperance and disease, or have gone back into the Canadas, where other nations have received them. There has been something in the conduct of the Penobscott Indians, which has denied to them the brotherly love of those of the more interior parts of the country, and prevented their emigration. This will be mentioned in the sequel ; and their decrease of numbers will be charged

* Pelasgus and Herod, as quoted by Rollin.

ged altogether on their intemperance and want of urbanity. There remains no other tribe of aborigines in the New-England states but this one, which yet subsist merely as savages.

The inquiry into the origin of the Penobscott savages would be as fruitless as the general inquiry into the origin of the savages on our continent, in general, has been. Whether they were originally Jews, Canaanites, Carthaginians, Phœnicians, Greeks, or Scythians, remains far beyond all the researches of which we are capable. There were no domestick animals found in America, nor any traits of character, any art or science, by which the affinity of the people there, could be traced with certainty, to any country or nation on the globe.

The immense regions of our continent, from Baffin's Bay on the north, to the Streights of Magellan on the south, were filled with inhabitants. Nor were the different situations of the various tribes and nations confined to the shores of the Atlantick, but extended over to the Southern Ocean on the west.

In all this vast extent of country, possessed by men composing various nations and tribes, there was no other dissimilarity of manners, than what was naturally produced by the difference of soil and climate. There has been nothing resembling this in any other part of the world. In Europe, a small local alteration would of course present a very different nation of men. The Germans were found by Julius Cæsar divided into various nations, each under a regular form of government, and with forms of government very unlike to each other. Some were complete despotisms, with the power of rule vested in one man, without limits or restrictions; others had an aristocracy, a nobility by whom the kings were elected; and in others the king or leader was chosen by the people at large. The origin of these nations could be traced to Gaul; they had herds and flocks, they raised barley and wheat, and fermented the juice of the grape to a spirit. Their food, as Tacitus informs us, was of the simplest kind, wild apples, coagulated milk, and the food of animals lately killed, Julius Cæsar mentions that they distilled a spirit from mares' milk, with which they were used to intoxicate themselves.

themselves. The savages of America raised a grain, now known by the appellation of Indian corn ; they fed on fish, on the flesh of animals recently killed, or preserved by smoke, on acorns, ground roots, and herbs. They were ignorant of the art of procuring from milk, or vegetables, a fermented liquor, nor had they any other kind of intoxication than what arose from the use of tobacco smoaked in a stone pipe. This narcotick weed was the only repast which they took to regale themselves with.

The more northern tribes of the Germans had no houses or fixed habitations, but wandered from place to place with their herds. The aborigines of our country had permanent places of residence ; and in the northern hemisphere, though their houses were formed only of bark, covering rafters laid on crotched sticks, stuck into the ground, yet these were their homes whereto they resorted, when their hunting and fishing seasons were over. These habitations were near to each other, forming small towns or villages : for, having no flocks or herds, they wanted but little extent of territory. That which was designated for raising corn, was parcelled out by the tribe to an individual for life, and reverted on his death. This principle bears a striking resemblance to one in the feudal system of Europe, which was the origin of a sum of money being paid by the tenant in *capite* to the lord of the manor for relief on the death of the tenant's ancestor.

Every nation of Germany avowed the right of slavery, and had numerous slaves ; these were persons taken as prisoners in their wars on each other, or on more southern nations, and of children proceeding from their captured enemies. Our American Indians, in the northern part of our continent, made no wars on each other, that we know of ; nor were there any slaves found amongst them. Yet they had chiefs and leaders, were in the habit of holding, and of being governed by the result of, councils, and when they had learned to make war with their European visitors, they claimed their captives as their property, and would never restore them but on ransom. Even when the French nation had agreed, in a treaty of peace, that captives should be restored, they were obliged to purchase them.

The natives of South-America, found there by the Spaniards, were somewhat nearer to a state, resembling a state of civilization, than the Indians in the more northern part of the continent were. Their houses, though reared without the use of iron, were, in some degree, elegant and commodious. The city of Mexico, the palaces of the king, the houses of persons of distinction, and the temples of their gods, had a considerable degree of magnificence in their appearance and structure: nothing of that kind was seen among the towns or habitations of our northern tribes. Gold and copper were found in the cliffs of the rocks there: in what is now New-England, the savages were as much unacquainted with these, as with iron. There, Montezuma, the chief, was attended with pomp and parade: the heads of the tribes had no other mark of distinction here, than the right to precede in, and govern the march, and to be heard with silent and full respect when they spoke. The southern hemisphere seemed to be divided into two great empires, formed and maintained by the coalition of various tribes: in the northern part of the continent there was no federation, or league among the tribes, but each was independent of the other. The people on all parts of the continent were strangers to labour and industry, unacquainted with the arts, and those of the northward had no other ideas of property, than what resulted from a usufructuary possession, of lands, or moveable goods. However they might appear to differ in some unimportant circumstances, yet their manners in general were so extremely rude, that the denomination of savages was justly applied to them all.

The tribes in the northern regions were temperate, because they had not the means of intoxication, before they were taught the practice of inebriety by the Europeans; now there are but a very few exceptions indeed to a most inordinate love of fermented liquors and ardent spirits among them. There is, once in a while, seen one or perhaps more who drink only water, but there is no instance where one indulges beyond that restriction without becoming a drunkard. When they are intoxicated they appear to be the most rude, wild, and ferocious animal that draws the breath of life.

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The complexion of the American natives is nearly the same every where, with but very little allowance for the effect of climate. One universal languor of nerves, as to manual labour, and one common habit of laziness, seems to have spread itself over all the nations of this new world. Where the waters produce fish to satiate their hunger, and a very little food is required for that purpose, there they lie in a torpid, inactive state ; but where they are urged to live in the forests, and depend upon hunting for subsistence, they appear to be more alert and active. It then follows of consequence, that the northern Indians, who are debarred by the ice a great part of the year from obtaining their food from the sea, the lakes, the rivers and brooks, are more robust and active than those in warmer climates. Yet where the soil and season will allow of agriculture in their rude manner, the uncertainty of a maintenance from the chase has urged them to the raising of corn or maize and pumpkins to alleviate the disagreeable sensation of hunger.

The people of South-America had cultivated the arts of war, and their distinctions of a nobility, &c. undoubtedly arose in that way. They paid honours to, and respected their heroes, but we have no history nor tradition of wars among our northern nations. The association of men into different clans or tribes seems to form separate interests and to lay the foundation for wars ; but the northern part of our country, being thinly inhabited, there could be no contest for soil for the sake of agriculture ; and the forests, held in common for no other use than that of hunting, were extensive enough for all ; we therefore may reasonably conclude, that if our Indians had wars, they were temporary conflicts resulting from resentment or revenge, and not of much consequence.

The savages of North-America appear to have arrived at the highest perfection of stature, strength, and agility, between the 40th and 60th degrees of latitude. It is observed by Robertson and other writers, that there were never found any dwarfs or deformed persons among the savages. The precarious mode of procuring a subsistence might, in the more southern climates, lead parents to neglect their weak and deformed offspring ; but though
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those writers do not pay much attention to the idea, yet it requires the highest degree of refinement in urbanity of manners to lay a foundation for the support of the aged, the infirm, the weak and the helpless, the widow and the orphan. To do this, there must be an habitual religious sense of the obligation to social duty, or the strong effects of refined publick opinion. There must be, likewise, funds and regular provision made for the helpless and poor. Among a people, where there is no accumulation of superfluous wealth ; where a mere subsistence is the only end in view ; and where a state of infirmity, weakness, or helpless decrepitude is so wretched and hopeless, there seems to be no inducement to rear any children, who are not apparently capable of procuring their own subsistence when they shall arrive to adult age. Indeed, it may be easily conceived, that among savages, where the ideas of a future state are but faint and glimmering, and the doctrine of future rewards and punishments hardly conceived of, there could be but a small inducement, in either parents or communities, to raise up subjects for an helpless state of dependence and wretchedness.

In the south, the vehemence of desire, and the ardour of the propensities, were much less than among the Europeans. They were still less, further to the northward. There have been a great variety of opinions and conjectures, in regard to female chastity among those Indians ; the truth, no doubt, is, that they are never urged by the warmth of their inclinations, on the one hand, nor deterred, from principles of virtue or feelings of delicacy, on the other ; a reward, that would satisfy their hunger, or gratify their pride for gaudy ornaments, has never failed to overcome them. The husband, who regards, as the first source of his comfort and honour, the chastity of his wife, is quite capable of experiencing the anguish of jealousy ; but he, who is indifferent to the passion of love, and has no just notions of the refined principles of virtue, and no respect to a well cultivated publick opinion, pays very little attention to the value of female chastity. We therefore find it to have been a practice with our savages, to yield their bed to a traveller, or visitor.

It has been observed, that the savages between the 30th and

and 60th degrees of northern latitude, were more perfectly formed than the others. Those on the north, in the Esquimeaux country, and in Greenland, are small, disproportioned, and miserable creatures. There they live on seals, the carcases of whales, and other fish, killed by the ice, and laying in a putrid rotten state, and which is devoured without cookery. On the south, as near the line as the Brazils, they neither sow, plant, gather, nor reap; not even the cassada is cultivated for bread; but through a vast extent of country, they live on what the hand of nature spontaneously offers; a few fish, wild roots, wild berries, and herbs. These are a race of miserable, helpless animals, hardly bearing the form of man. But our Penobscott Indians were men of elegant stature and agreeable form; tall as the Europeans commonly are, and much better proportioned. In war, and hunting, full of strength, vigour, and agility. To this were added a competent degree of intelligence for savage life, a due proportion of courage, and the same kind of low address or cunning which has been found in all the American savages. They have a full share of pride; a morose domineering disposition in regard to their wives, who are in a state of abject servitude; a haughty contempt for all labour, for the arts, and every thing but the feats of war, the achievements of the chase, and the insuring of the scaly tribes. This observation may be well relied on, that the region where the Penobscott tribe was found, contained the *achmé* of perfection in savage life.

It is not probable that the Indians in the eastern part of Massachusetts, that is, in what is now called the district of Maine, ever formed an idea of the appearance of an European, before a French party, under the command of monsieur De Mott, landed at Passamaquoddy in 1604. We have no history of them before that memorable period; nor have we any reason to suppose, that they conceived of any world beyond the horizon which terminated their sight on the ocean. When the French adventurers found them, they were filled with awe and terrour at the appearance of the ships, but more so at the grandeur, noise, and effects of gunpowder. Implements and weapons of war, formed

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of iron, could not fail to fill them with the greatest astonishment.

The Indians at the south part of the continent had a simple form of worship, composed of two principles only ; ours had not perhaps one principle in theirs. They had an idea of a great Creator of the universe ; and believed him to be a good and benevolent being. They found that evil existed in the world, and did not attempt to account for it on any other principle, than that of its being produced by a malevolent being, over whom the good being had no control : they therefore paid divine honours to both.

As the French settlements were soon abandoned, we have no accurate or interesting accounts of the natives, at or near Penobscott, until more than forty years after, when the baron Castine came there from France. He was a nobleman of distinction, a colonel of the king's bodyguards, and a man of intrigue and enterprise. He found an alliance with the savages necessary, in order to break up the English settlements, which had been made at Plymouth, Boston, and along the shore entirely to Penobscott, under grants and patents from the British crown. To promote his interest, and gratify his lust, he married, and had living with him, six wives of the native Indians at one time. His place of residence, capital, or palace, was on the east side, and near the mouth, of the river Penobscott. He had several priests in his train, whose conduct, from their religious rites and unintelligible ceremonies, was calculated to captivate and deceive a barbarous people. He taught the Indians the use of fire arms ; and thereby obviated the greatest restraint, and overthrew the greatest security the Europeans had against them. He began this project with, and through the Penobscott tribe, about the year 1661, and, by the year 1675, the time of king Philip's war, the knowledge of gunpowder and fire arms was universally extended among the northern savages. Emboldened by this, and encouraged by the French nation, the Indians began their hostilities, which were continued by the Penobscott tribe, with very few intervals, from the year 1676 until the year 1749, when they submitted by a final treaty, and became subjects of the government of Massachusetts-Bay.

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When the baron Castine was alive, he was, with great propriety, considered as the most dangerous enemy which New-England had then seen ; divers campaigns were made to capture him, but though his fortress at Penobscott was taken and plundered, he escaped to the wilderness. He lived to the year 1697, and then left a number of sons, relations by blood to the Penobscott tribe. Upon these, as well as on their ancestor, the government of Massachusetts-Bay offered a large premium for their capture, until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, at which time their influence was at an end, and the tribe with its appendages gave over their disposition to war with the English colonies.

Since the revolution, the legislature of Massachusetts has been generous in calling one county Washington, and another Hancock, and in calling divers towns by the names of men who had deserved well of their country. This was raising a mausoleum without expense, and doing those characters great honour ; but when we hear the shire town of the county of Hancock called *Castine*, after the name of the greatest enemy the country ever had, we cannot but consider the honour done to the other characters as greatly lessened, if not wholly done away ; provided it was done under a full view of the true character of the baron Castine ; but it is clear that it was not.

The reduction of Louisburg, in 1745, filled the eastern Indians with terrour. They then began to conceive, that the New-England colonies were very powerful ; and that the strength of France in America could not be relied on against Great-Britain. There did not appear to be any hostilities between the two nations after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1747, until 1753 ; and yet the Penobscott Indians, being not expressly included in the treaty, they did not appear to be in a state of peace with the English.

In September, 1749, lieutenant-governour Phips communicated to the council a letter from captain Bradbury, who commanded the fort near Penobscott, informing them that the Indians there were desirous to treat with the government, and be at peace with it. The council advised his Honour to treat with them on conditions that they would be at peace ; and an armed vessel was sent to bring their chiefs to Falmouth, now Portland ; and provision

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was made for their subsistence. In that treaty there appeared delegates from various tribes or people, which the ostentation, usual in savage life, induced them to send as representatives. The Penobscott tribe had its delegates. The Norridgewocks, who had been subdued by Harmon and Moulton, in the year 1724, sent their delegates; and a tribe, called in that treaty the Wewenocks, were represented, together with the Anasaguntacooks; some of these were very probably the remains of the Wiscasset Indians, which had been wasted by sickness and war, and were scattered in divers small villages as before mentioned.

All the tribes in Massachusetts and in the district of Maine, who had not submitted to our government on the treaty of October, in the year 1749, excepting the Passamaquoddy nation, appeared to unite themselves with, and place themselves under, the Penobscott tribe. Yet, in order to create parade, exhibit their importance, and to obtain presents, they appeared to act as a number of separate nations, and each one sent its ambassadors or commissioners. As the treaty, then made, terminated the existence of all those savages, besides the Penobscotts, as independent tribes and nations, and brought the Penobscotts into subjection to the English government, the treaty has become an important document in this subject, and is therefore, with the governor's consequent proclamation, added to this essay.

The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians.

WHEREAS a war has for some years past been made and carried on by the Indians of the tribes of Penobscott, Norridgewock, St. Francois, and other Indians, inhabiting within his majesty's territories of New-England, against the governments of the Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, contrary to several treaties heretofore solemnly entered into: And the said Indians being now sensible of the miseries and troubles they have involved themselves in, and being desirous to be restored to his majesty's grace and favour, and to live in peace with all his majesty's subjects; and that all former acts of injury may be forgotten.

We the underwritten being delegated and impowered to

to represent and act for and in behalf of the Indians aforesaid, have concluded to make, and do by these presents in their name make, our submission unto his most excellent majesty George the second, by the grace of God of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. in as full and ample a manner as any of our predecessors have heretofore done.

And we do by these presents engage with Thomas Hutchinson, John Choate, Israel Williams, and James Otis, Esqrs. commissioned by the Honourable Spencer Phips, Esq. as he is lieutenant-governour and commander in chief of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, and with the governours or commanders in chief of said province for the time being.

That is to say, in the name and behalf of the tribes and Indians aforesaid, we do promise and engage, that at all times forever, from and after the date of these presents, we and they will cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries, and discords towards all the subjects of the crown of Great-Britain, and not suffer the least hurt, violence, or molestation to them or any of them, in their persons or estates; but will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant amity with all the English; and will never confederate or combine with any other nation to their prejudice.

That all the captives taken in this war shall forthwith be restored, without any ransom or payment to be made for them or any of them. That his majesty's subjects, the English, shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve, and enjoy all and singular their rights of land, and former settlements, properties, and possessions within the eastern parts of the said province of Massachusetts-Bay, together with all islands, islets, shores, beaches and fishery within the same, without any molestation or claims by us or any other Indians, and be no ways interrupted or disturbed therein: Saving to the tribes of Indians within his majesty's province aforesaid, and their natural descendants respectively, all their lands, liberties, and properties, not by them conveyed, or sold to, or possessed by any of the English subjects as aforesaid; as also the privilege of fishery, hunting and fowling as formerly.

That all trade and commerce, which hereafter may be

allowed between the English and the Indians, shall be under such management and regulation as the government of the Massachusetts province shall direct.

If any controversy or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on either side, no private revenge shall be taken for the same, but a proper application shall be made to his majesty's government upon the place, for remedy or redress thereof, in a due course of justice; we submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by his majesty's laws, and desiring to have the benefit of the same.

We do further engage, that if any Indians shall at any time hereafter commit any act of hostility against the English, we will join our young men with the English in reducing such Indians to reason.

In the next place, we the underwritten do promise and engage with Theodore Atkinson and John Downing, Esqrs. commissioned by his Excellency Benning Wentworth, Esq. governour and commander in chief of his majesty's province of New-Hampshire, and with the governours and commanders in chief of said province for the time being, that we, and the Indians we represent and appear for, shall and will henceforth cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries, and discords, towards all the subjects of his majesty, king George, within the said province. And we do understand and take it, that the said government of New-Hampshire is also included and comprehended in all and every the articles aforegoing, excepting that respecting the regulation of the trade with us.

In testimony whereof we have signed these presents, and affixed our seals.

*Anasaguntacooks and
Wewenocks.*

Norridgewocks.

Penobscotts.

Sawwaramet, (Seal)	Toxus, (Seal)	Eger Enmut, (Seal)
Aufado, (S.)	Cneas, (S.)	Maganumba, (S.)
Waaununga, (S.)	Magawonbee, (S.)	Nutumbouit, (S.)
Sauguish, (S.)	Harry, (S.)	Esparagoofaret, (S.)
Warcedeen, (S.)	Soosephnia, (S.)	Nefnooon, (S.)
Wawawnunka, (S.)	Noktoonos, (S.)	
	Nefagumbuit, (S.)	
	Peerceer, (S.)	

The counterpart was signed and sealed by the commissioners of the province ; firmly engaging peace, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of the Indians in their lands ; but the quantity or boundaries were not described. It does not appear why the St. Francois tribe was named, as they lived on or near the St. Lawrence, in what is now Lower Canada. They do not appear to have been named in the lieutenant-governour's proclamation, but to be excluded even in the general description of " other tribes inhabiting within his majesty's territories in New-England." Perhaps, however, as it was then contended that the province of New-Hampshire run over to the south sea or Western Ocean, that the St. Francois tribe fell within that province. New-York claimed the same extent westward ; and both provinces swallowed up what now composes both the Canadas. There were no delegates present from the St. Francois tribe, nor is there any subscription to the treaty in their names.

The governour's proclamation, in ratification of the treaty, was as follows.

By the Honourable Spencer Phips, Esq. Lieutenant-Governour and commander in chief in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, at the request of the Indians of the Penobscott, Norridgewalk, Anafaguntacook, Wewenock, and other tribes, inhabiting within his majesty's territories of New-England, who have lately been at war with this government, signified by their delegates to his Excellency William Shirley, Esq. captain-general of the said province, at Boston, in the month of June last, a treaty was begun and held at Falmouth in Casco bay, upon the 14th of October instant, between commissioners by me appointed and impowered for that purpose, and certain chiefs and other Indians for and in behalf of the said tribes ; and upon the 16th following, articles of peace and friendship between this government and the said Indians were agreed upon, finally settled and concluded.

I have

I have therefore thought fit, with the advice of his majesty's council, to issue this proclamation, that all persons within this government may be duly informed of the peace concluded as aforesaid. And I do hereby strictly command and require all his majesty's good subjects to live in peace and amity with the Indians of the Penobscott, Norridgewalk, Anasaguntacook and Wewenock tribes, and the other Indian tribes within the territories aforesaid, who have lately been at war with this government, and not to commit any acts of violence or hostility against the said Indians, or give them any trouble or molestation; but on the contrary to afford them all necessary comfort and assistance as occasion may require; and his majesty's justices of the peace, and all other officers, in such places where the said Indians may resort, are hereby commanded to use their utmost endeavours that no wrong or injury be offered to the said Indians, and that the good laws of this province be strictly observed and maintained in all dealings and transactions with them.

Given at the council chamber in Boston, upon Friday, the 27th day of October, 1749, in the 23d year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the second, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c.

S. PHIPS.

By order of the Honourable the lieutenant-governour, with the advice of the council.

J. WILLARD, *Sec'ry.*

God save the King!

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 1747, the controversies, in regard to the boundaries between the English and French colonies, were left unsettled. The French were in possession of the vast extent of territory incircling the British colonies from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the gulf of Mexico; and their evident object was, to swallow up the whole country, containing what was within the English dominions then, and what was within the United States at the time when the English American colonies asserted their independence in 1776.

In

In the year 1754, the war assumed a very serious aspect, and the French government, in order to stimulate the savages to cruel and merciless depredations, provided a large premium for the scalp of every Anglo-American which the Indians should produce. This species of cruelty was not retaliated by the English government upon the French inhabitants of Canada, but a bounty was offered of £.100 on the scalps of Indians. In the year 1755, James Cargill of Bristol, then in the county of York, now in the county of Lincoln, lately known as a member of the legislature in Massachusetts, by the appellation of Colonel Cargill, and who is now alive, produced two scalps of Indians, and demanded a bounty of £.100 for each. The money was not then paid, because there was a suspicion, that the savages killed by him were of the Penobscott tribe, subjects of the king of Great-Britain, and under the protection of the laws of the province of Massachusetts-Bay. He was apprehended upon the charge, and committed for trial in the year 1756. He was indicted and tried in the county of York for the crime of murder, in June, 1757. The charge against him, was the felonious killing and murdering of one Baterné, an Indian man, in the peace of God and the king, at a place called the Owl's Head, on the 2d day of July, 1755. There was evidence, that Baterné and another Indian man were missing from the Penobscott tribe; they were never afterwards heard of. There were other circumstances bearing more than a suspicion, that the persons killed were of that tribe. Had the evidence been ever so strong, it would have been almost impossible to have persuaded a jury to hang a white man, in those times, for killing an Indian. The trial was conceived of, as rather a conciliatory measure with the Penobscotts, than as a serious issue on a charge of murder. Cargill being acquitted of killing friendly Indians, received his bounty for the scalps of hostile savages. This good effect was, on the whole, produced; the imprisonment of Cargill and the solemnity of his trial exhibited such a faithful attention in the government to their treaty, that the Indians were secure, and there was no complaint of an injury made afterwards.

The appearances of war were again observed in the year

1753. The Indians of Canada were fixed on the side of the French nation, and in an hereditary hatred to the English. The war of 1675 had shewn them their advantage in the use of fire arms and other metallic weapons, and had consequently relieved them from that dread, which a sense of their inferiority in the art and means of war had oppressed them with. None of those, who were then alive, remembered a time, when the white people, inhabiting New-England, were the friends of the natives ; hostilities had always been continued with but short intervals of peace between the Indians and English.

The Norridgewocks, and other eastern Indians, appeared to recede from their subjection confessed in the treaty. This was not done by any publick act, but by a personal perfidiousness, in which they all, excepting three families at Norridgewock, went off and joined themselves to the Canadians, in order to carry on a war with the English. The Norridgewocks, Anasaguntacooks and Wewenocks disdained the act of the treaty, while the Canadians viewed the Penobscotts as perfidious and false brethren ; and disclaimed all connexion with them. It was now necessary to preserve the subjection of that nation, or to exterminate them ; for such an auxiliary, so situated, would give such advantages to the enemy, as would inevitably enable them to destroy the whole eastern country. For the purpose of keeping them in subjection, two forts were garrisoned ; one on Penobscott, and one on George's river. Supplies of every kind, but those of arms and ammunition, were offered to the Penobscott tribe, and presents were constantly made to them. This held them, at least as friends in appearance, throughout the whole war which terminated in the year 1763, but fixed them down in a state of alienation and enmity with the Canadians, who, from the treaty of 1749, have considered them as a lost tribe. In the year 1769, the writer of this essay was on the Kennebeck, and saw a number, perhaps three hundred, of a tribe of Canadians, called the St. Francois tribe, proceeding, after having closed their hunt for the season, to St. John's, to see a French priest, who would pardon their sins ; but they would not even consent to visit the Penobscott tribe. They halted on Kennebeck, sold skins, and enjoyed a drunken

drunken frolick, reserving money to pay the priest ; but though the Penobscott tribe was directly in their way to St. John's, they did not consider that territory as a place for their visit.

After the peace between the French and English, in 1763, Canada being ceded to the latter, the fear of Indian hostilities ceased in America, and the savages were no longer dreaded as enemies. There was, however, a fort kept up at Penobscott, and a store, commonly called a truck house, kept there to supply the savages with those things necessary to them in the manner of living they had acquired. The prices of the articles were fixed by the government, and a penalty annexed to all acts of fraud or oppression committed against them. This regulation ceased on the commencement of hostilities in the revolutionary war, and has never been renewed. Those Indians took no part in that war ; but remained at peace with the American and English forces, as they alternately held the fort of Penobscott.

The country on the river has been settled, since the revolution, as high as the falls ; and some towns above. The government has assigned a quantity of land, about nine miles square, and some way above the falls, on the west side of the river, for the Indians. There they now reside in a full preservation of their native habits and savage manner of life. Their habitations are wigwams, as they call them ; the covering is of bark supported by pales, as rafters, laid on crotched sticks stuck in the ground. The fire, which warms some of them, is in front of the hut, others in the center. They sit generally on skins of bears, or other animals, laid on the ground, and sleep upon beds of the same. Their clothes are generally blankets with trowsers ; a short jacket, cloth stockings, and moccasins. They have generally hats or bonnets. There is some distinction between the dress of the men and women, which is the result of convenience from their different occupations. There is some distinction in the appearance of their ranks, which is generally effected by ornaments of very little expense, and very contemptible in the eye of more enlightened and civilized people. Their food consists of a very little Indian corn, pumpkins, squashes, &c. which they produce
by

by the labour of their women, on light and easy land. The country is now too much settled to afford any considerable support from game. There never were any considerable flocks of deer on Penobscott river. The reindeer inhabit the country farther north, and the fallow deer incline more to the south. The moose, a monstrous large animal, has been plenty there in former days, but it is rare to see one at the present time. There are bears, some beaver, raccoons, musquashes, &c. What those people acquire by the labour of their women in the summer, and by the hunting done by the men, lays up but very scanty provision for their long and cold winters. The sturgeon, the salmon, and the great fish, the men will condescend to take, but they feel themselves above the taking of small fish: the catching of shad and alewives they make the business of their women and children. The alewives taken, and some of the salmon, they preserve by hanging them in the smoke, but seldom salt them, as the white people do. The men will beg, they seldom steal, but they scorn to labour; they will suffer hunger, nakedness, and poverty, rather than to work with their hands: of course, having nothing in store for a tedious winter, they stroll down on the banks of the sea, beg where they can obtain any thing by it; and make the seals, the eels, clams, oysters and such other things as the margin of the sea will offer to them, their subsistence in the last resort for winter.

The attempts to civilize these people have been attended with not much more success than those which have been made to christianize them. They say, that the religion of the Congregationalists is too simple for them; and they are in some measure attached to the Roman Catholic religion, on account of its being more ceremonious. Some of them are regular in the forms of devotion, repeating their prayers, and crossing themselves at morning and evening. They treat the Roman Catholick priests with great respect, and have children baptized. They have no doubt of the power of the priests to pardon their sins, and are cheerfully willing to pay, to the utmost of their ability, for so great and necessary an accommodation.

A few years more will lessen those people, so that they will

will not preserve the appearance of a nation or tribe. The lands about them are granted, and must be settled and cultivated in a short space of time, when, as they never will till the earth for a living, or condescend to agriculture, they will go away to the westward of the Mississippi, and seek an asylum among the nations of savages which have never heard of them.

How the nations of American savages found their way from the other continent to this, remains in the common field of conjecture, where every antiquarian has a right to rove as his imagination shall prompt him, and will, no doubt, forever remain there. The idea of coming across on ice, near the north end of our continent, carries with it but merely the colour of possibility. If they came to the south end, they must have arrived in vessels capacious enough to have brought domestick animals; but none were found here. They might however have been produced from a few voyagers, who in the day when the compass was unknown had been driven away, and wrecked, or landed on these shores: and not coming under an idea of a permanent migration, might come without those animals. The Author of men has created those animals in all other countries where man has been found, and we ought not to suppose, that if these men were formed originally here, those animals would not have been created here also.

Were we to reason from analogy, we should, perhaps, conclude that the original ancestors of those barbarous nations landed in the middle or southern part of our continent. The father of the human race was created in the eastern part of the globe, and the ark probably rested in that quarter, perhaps about the 30th degree of north latitude. Men like a rolling tide issued towards the north, the climate whereof finally produced a stout hardy race, which, like the wave returning, after the resistance made to it by the shore, over run and conquered the effeminacy of the more warm climates; why should we not suppose, that the progress of settlement, was from the south to the north on our continent?

The complexion of the Indians under the equator, and on the north, and south of it, is nearly the same. We are told by men, in whose researches the world has confidence, that

that the difference in complexion, between the Europeans and Africans, arises from a difference in the texture of the *mucous membrane*, or under skin ; and that the *scarf skin*, or outer *cuticula* are exactly alike in both. Others say, and perhaps consistently enough with the other hypothesis, that the variation of colour is occasioned by the difference of climate. To reconcile this to that mode of reasoning which we are compelled to found on the basis of history, we are told, that although the heat of the torrid zone can make no sensible alteration from white towards black in one generation, yet in the course of revolving centuries, it may have had such an effect as ought to satisfy our inquiries. This has no tendency to give us satisfaction in our investigations upon the fact, that the savages in America are black men, while those on the same degree of latitude, on, and to the northward of the 20th, are white ; or in the reflections on the fact, that while in Africa, on the south of the equator, the hair of the people's head, which, in animal life, is only an extension of the fibres, is fine, like the finest wool, that of the savages in South-America, in the same degree, is coarse, and stiff as that of those in the northern hemisphere. It may be justly added here, that there is no instance, where change of climate has changed those signs of native difference, or where the progeny of mankind have changed the complexion of their original stock towards a conformity to those where their ancestors have been removed to.

The world, and its inhabitants, are a mystery to all men ; and each man is a mystery to himself. We know not why we are produced in the manner we are ; we know nothing of the occasion of different species of animals, or of different kinds of plants ; we know not why the seed produces the same tree, stalk, or vegetable from which it came ; we have no knowledge of even the manner in which we are nourished by the food that satisfies our hunger, or why every kind of food produces, ultimately, the same chyle in the stomach.

This we know, that we exist, that we are not the cause of our own existence ; that we have perceptive, and rational faculties ; that we are possessed of the passions of hope and fear, and can suffer and can enjoy ; that we have
a natural

a natural aversion to annihilation, which aversion is common to the whole human race. We are capable of comprehending so much of the universe, as to convince us of the existence of a great first cause, from whom all proceeds. We are satisfied, that there must be one great cause who has produced the universe whereof we are but atoms, and of which the part we discover is merely the threshold. That he governs the whole, and delights in the happiness of his intelligent offspring. Should we attempt to form a history of our own race, our conjectures would be absurd and ridiculous in our own eye. On the history given by the Hebrew sage, we find, fitly ingrafted, principles, sentiments, and precepts, intirely congenial to our rational ideas of comfort here, and happiness hereafter. "Men would be angels, angels would be gods; where we cannot unriddle, we must learn to trust." The history of our race, as given by Moses, and the system of religion seemingly to proceed from it, is not more mysterious to us, than every moment of our own existence is, and we had therefore better repose ourselves, with all our inquiries, in the arms of the great first cause, who is without beginning of days or end of years: whose being can never fail, whose wisdom can never err, whose power is infinite, and whose justice can never be corrupted.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN the year 1690, Sir William Phips conquered the country at and eastward of Penobscott. And on a treaty held with the Indians there, in 1693, by commissioners under the English crown, the Castine family submitted themselves as British subjects, which so effectually destroyed their influence with the savages, that they went away to Canada about the year 1704.

The Penobscott tribe have no forms of trial in civil or criminal cases; nor any forms or established rules of justice among them. It is very probable, that the advice of their old men compromises their controversies in regard to property, while their native strength avenges their personal insults. There never has been an instance, where any one of them has been a party to a suit, either civil or criminal,

criminal, in the courts of our government. If they have stolen, or injured any white person, he has gained his recompense in his own way. In other parts of the country the natives have been made amenable in courts of justice.

They know nothing of written contracts, excepting in treaties, and sale of lands ; and they do not confide much in their verbal agreements with each other.

When the French people came to the St. Croix, in 1604, bigamy was found to be in practice among the natives, more especially among their chiefs ; but it was soon after disused, perhaps from the precepts and prohibitions of the Catholick priests. The marriage covenant appears to be the most sacred with them ; and divorce is not in practice : But they treat their wives as slaves ; and in their paroxysms of drunkenness, appear to direct all their fury and revenge towards them. The women, at such times, are obliged to flee and conceal themselves until the intoxication of their husbands (or *fanaps*, as they call them) subsides.

They appear to be austere, but tender towards their children. They have no fixed time of age, when their children can act for themselves independent of, and without regard to an obedience to their parents. The time of their emancipation is progressive, as they gain ability to provide for themselves ; like the wolf, which becomes independent of its mother as soon as it can gain prey for its own subsistence, so those young savages become independent as they acquire a capacity to provide for themselves. Yet they always treat their parents with a respectful veneration, and frequently provide for them when they become aged and infirm.

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LETTER FROM REV. T. ALDEN TO REV. DR. ELIOT,
ON EARTHQUAKES.

Portsmouth, (N. H.) 2d March, 1804.

Reverend and dear Sir,

THE following account, on presumption you have received no other, of several small earthquakes, which have happened since the 20th of November, 1799, the
time

time of my settlement in this town, is respectfully presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, by your humble servant,

TIMOTHY ALDEN, jun.

THE shock of an earthquake was felt at Hanover and other places in the western part of New-Hampshire, on Friday evening, the 19th of December, 1800.

There was another shock, at various places, in the interior of this state, as well as on our western boundary, the ensuing evening ; but, in neither instance was any thing of the kind perceived in any of the towns near the Piscataqua.

The above statement is drawn principally from several newspapers.

At about half after three in the afternoon, on the sabbath, the first of March, 1801, we had an earthquake of considerable extent. The sound, which lasted about twenty, or possibly thirty seconds, appeared to come from the north-west. From its strength and rumbling nature, it could not easily be distinguished from the noise of a coach passing moderately over frozen ground. Some, who were in their houses, at first, thought that their chimnies were on fire and directly their windows began to clatter, as, in that case, they sometimes do. Scarcely any, however, by the time the noise ceased, doubted its real cause. A tremulous motion was perceptible in all parts of Portsmouth. It was more so, I believe, at the Episcopal church, which stands on a considerable eminence nigh the river, than at any of our churches. In the south church, this tremulous motion was noticed by people who were sitting, although it was not sufficient for me to perceive it, as I stood in the pulpit. At one house, standing on our highest land within the town plat, it threw down a waiter, which stood edgewise under a table. At another house, where the situation was much lower, the jar was great enough to strike a little bell, which was fixed in such a manner that the tongue rested on its side. In various instances, there was a gentle clattering on shelves of crockery ware. Cattle and fowls exhibited signs of fear, as is common in time of an earthquake. The shock was noticed on board of vessels in our

harbour. At Durham the people immediately retired from the house of worship.

According to the best information I have been able to gain, this earthquake pervaded the whole of New-Hampshire. It was perceived in Maine, as far as Kennebeck river, and how much farther, in that direction, I have never understood. It was observed in many towns north of Boston, in Massachusetts; but nothing of it, as I could ever learn, was heard in Connecticut, Rhode-Island, or the southern part of the bay state.

The sky was clear. The weather was uncommonly mild and pleasant with scarcely a breath of air.

Some people thought that, about two o'clock the following night, there was a repetition of the shock, but in a smaller degree.

Two earthquakes were perceived, at fundry places, in the vicinity of Kennebeck river, at about two o'clock in the morning, the 21st of February, 1802. These were sufficient to occasion a slight motion, perceptible to people, who were on their beds; but their local extent I have not ascertained. My informants, relative to these, are Joseph Wingate, Esq. who lives in Hallowell, and my brother, Martin Alden, who was then at Belgrade about a dozen miles west from the river.

HISTORICAL SCRAPS.

THE Indian tribes, from Massachusetts to Canse, in 1690, were 4310 souls. In the year 1726, there were but 505: a loss of 3804 in thirty-six years.

In 1730, there was an Indian at the conference, St. George's fort, named Adamhegan, who was then, by the account given by the Indians, 115 years old.

Of the word SCHOONER: A Communication from Cotton Tufts, Esq.

Being at Gloucester, Sept. 8, 1790, I was informed (and committed the same to writing) that the kind of vessels, called *Schooners*, derived their name from this circumstance, viz. Mr. Andrew Robinson of that place having constructed a vessel which he masted and rigged in the same manner as *schooners* are at this day, on her going off the

the stocks and passing into the water, a bystander cried out, *Oh, how she scoons!* Robinson instantly replied, *A schooner let her be.* From which time, vessels thus masted and rigged have gone by the name of schooners; before which, vessels of this description were not known in Europe nor America.

This account was confirmed to me by a great number of persons in Gloucester. I made particular inquiry of an aged sea captain, who informed me that he had not, in any of his voyages to Europe or in America, seen any of those vessels prior to Robinson's construction.

BILL OF MORTALITY FOR MIDDLEBOROUGH IN THE
YEARS 1802 AND 1803. BY HON. I. THOMPSON.

Middleborough, January 1st, A. D. 1804.

Reverend Sir,

A GREEABLY to my promise I hereby inform you, that in the first precinct in Middleborough, which consists of between thirteen and fourteen hundred inhabitants, there died, in the year of our Lord 1802,

- 1 person over ninety years of age,
- 3 between eighty and ninety years of age,
- 2 between seventy and eighty years of age,
- 2 between fifty and seventy years of age,
- 3 between twenty and fifty years of age,
- and 8 under twenty years of age.

In all in that year there died 19.

And in the same precinct there died, in the year of our Lord 1803,

- 1 person over ninety years of age,
- 4 between eighty and ninety years of age,
- 2 between seventy and eighty years of age,
- 4 between fifty and seventy years of age,
- 4 between twenty and fifty years of age,
- and 16 under twenty years of age.

So the whole number that died the last year is 31.

I am, Sir, with esteem yours in sincerity,

ISAAC THOMSON.

To Rev. Dr. ELIOT, Corresponding Secretary to the Historical Society in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

BILL OF MORTALITY, FOR PORTSMOUTH, NEWHAMPSHIRE, A.D. 1801.

To the Committee of Publications.

Gentlemen,

I SEND you a bill of mortality for Portsmouth, Newhamshire, for the three first years of the present century, by LYMAN SPALDING, M.B. &c. It will be deemed, I am sure, a valuable article in your Collections, and, I hope, will stimulate other gentlemen of the medical profession to furnish you hereafter with similar records.

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COMPLAINT.	AGE.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
Aphtha	3 weeks								1				1	1
Apoplexy	39 years												1	1
Atrophy	{ 3 weeks, 50, 3 years. 4 months, 55 years.	1					2			1			1	5
Cancer	65. 76 years								1		1			2
Cholera Infantum	6 to 18 months							1	1	2	3			7
Consumption	{ 54, 50, 56, 75. 44. 35. 27, 83, 65, 69. } { 55, 50, 60. 44. 34, 35. 20, 40. 48, 32. }	4	1		1	3		1	3	1	2	2	2	20
Debauchery	25. 29 years				1				1					2
Dropfy	28. 41 years						1	1						2
Dropfy in the brain	12 months			1										1
Epilepsy	4 w. 10 y. 8 w.			1					1					3
Fever, billious	{ 26, 30. 45. 18, 28. 18, 14. } { 64. 8, 33. }	1		2		1	2			2	1		2	10
Fever, pulmonick	12 d. 15. 21. 84 y.		1		1						1		1	4

	3 m. to 4 yrs.	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Total
Hoopings cough	3 m. to 4 yrs.	1																1
Illiac passion	95 years																	1
Mortification	60 years																	1
Nephritis	74. 66 years																	2
Old age	82, 99. 75. 76. 80																	5
Palsy	{ ^{54, 42,} 68, 64, 77, 46, 64 } _{64, 43, 60, 19, 80.}																	12
Phrenitis	31 years																	1
Scrophula	8 years																	1
Still born																		1
Burnt	71 years																	1
Drowned	60. 18. 45 yrs.																	3
Fall	17 years																	1
Frozen	38 years																	1
Paregorick	6 months																	1
CASUALTIES		1	3	6	6		4	10	4			15	12	12	12			100

Portsmouth, situated 43°. 5' north, 70°. 41' west from London, contains 5511 inhabitants. The town has been very healthful, not one in fifty-five having died. A bilious remitting fever prevailed the whole year, which in several instances, in September and October, manifested the malignant type. From June to October, the cholera infantum was prevalent. From September to the end of the year, the hooping cough was endemic, very few children escaped it. A fifth part have died of phthisis pulmonalis!!! "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there?"

BILL OF MORTALITY, FOR PORTSMOUTH, NEWHAMPSHIRE, A. D. 1802.

COMPLAINT.	AGE.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
Aphtha	4, 4 weeks													2
Apoplexy	66. 33. 55. 43. 63 years			1					1			1		5
Atrophy	55. 69. 40. 55. 3m, 60 years	1		1				1		1			3	6
Cancer	55. 63, 60 years											2		3
Cankerrash	8. 2. 5, 7m, 2, 16, 23, 4 years							1	6			1	6	8
Cholera of infants	6 to 24 months													13
Cholick, billious	42 years											1		1
Consumption	{ 14, 74. 53, 30, 69, 17. 33, 30, 60. 14, 33, 18, 7 69, 64, 60, 33. 28. 48, 52, 18. 29, 50. 63, 28. 22, 30 }	2	2	4	3	7		1	3		2	2	2	28
Debauchery	55. 38 years											1		2
Dropfy	69. 50. 84. 52, 89. 24 years					1				2			1	6
Dropfy in the brain	3. 7. 7. 8. 13 years	1		1				1						5
Dysentery	3, 2. 2 years									2				3
Epilepsy	64. 2, 2 years									1	2			3
Fever and Ague	33 years											1		1
Fever, billious	74. 30. 27 years			1										3
Fever, billious malignant	44. 31, 41, 13, 35, 21, 30, 40, 30, 13								9					10
Fever, pulmonick	65, 45 years	2						1						2
Gout	52 years													1
Gravel	41 years													1
Hooping cough	10 weeks to 1 year	3					1							8
Infantile complaints	6 days. 4 weeks		3	1				1						2

	7. 1,2,0,4,9m.	2,7,1,2,1. 2 years	7 m. 1 year	94,90. 78,76 years	60. 74. 64. 50 yrs.	30. 12 years	3 years	1 year	33 years	1 year	48. 60 years	55 years	82 years	4 months	32 years	
Measles																
Mortification																
Old age																
Palsy																
Phrenitis																
Premature birth																
Quinzy																
Scald head																
Small pox, natural																
Small pox, inoculated																
Drowned																
Fall																
Frozen																
Poisoned by opium																
Suicide																
CASUALTIES																
Total	12	10	14	6	17	9	7	24	12	13	12	16	15	2		

Portsmouth, situated $43^{\circ} 5'$ north, $70^{\circ} 41'$ west from London, contains 5600 inhabitants. The town has been very unhealthful, some epidemick having raged the whole year. The hooping cough in January and February was very prevalent, and some sporadick cafes continued till September. The measles made its appearance about the middle of March and was very prevalent till July; at which time a billious malignant fever made its appearance, and continued till August; when the cholera and cankerash commenced and continued through the year.

[illegible]

Portsmouth, situated 43° 5' north; 6° 26' east longitude from Washington, contains about 6000 inhabitants.

EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT ON BOARD SHIP
ATAHUALPA, BOUND ON A VOYAGE FROM BOSTON TO
THE N. W. COAST AND SANDWICH ISLANDS.*Mon. Nov. 30, 1801.*

THE following is an account of the weather for November, 1801, at a harbour in the latitude of 51° . north, in the island of Gilians and Valdes on the north-west coast. The thermometer was correctly noted three times a day. The first between eight or nine o'clock in the morning, second at noon, and third at sunset ; it was always placed on deck in a shady situation.

The mean height for the month in the morning was 44° . at noon $43\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$. evening 45° . and the mean of the three, for the month $45\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$. The greatest rise and depression of the mercury was as follows, on the morning of the 8th, 51° . and on the 20th, 31° . ; on the noon of the 1st, 58° . and 21st, 40° . ; eve of the 7th, 51° . and on the 21st and 26th, 41° . At midnight on the 19th the mercury fell to 30° . and on the 20th to 34° . above 0. The weather during the month has been bad, a great deal of rain has fallen, with a little snow and hail, and the easterly winds have prevailed, much of the time blowing very strong.

August 25th, 1802.

I had some conversation with Cou respecting some tribes of natives, who inhabit the inland country back of Stikeen ; he had his information from Cockshoo the Stikeen chief, who has repeatedly been among them for purposes of trade. He describes them, as of similar complexion, but of larger size, than the natives hereabouts. The men have short hair curling over their heads, the women are not disfigured with lip ornaments or any thing of the kind. They are a timid race ; upon the approach of danger they usually flee to some hiding place and set up a dismal cry. They dress with a coat or kind of frock, and in another garment something in the fashion of trousers, both made of the skins of deer dressed nearly in the same manner as clammel (war garments) at the southward.

ward. They subsist on the flesh of deer, bears, &c. which they obtain by hunting, using bows and arrows of a larger size, and handfomer than those of the natives of the sea-coast. They possess a champaign country, and are expert travellers. When the ground is covered with snow, they use snow-shoes. The languages of these tribes are entirely different from those of Stikeen. They were not acquainted with the use of iron till lately, the Stikeen people have supplied them with knives and forks, &c. taking in return an article of food (I cannot learn what.)

Cou also informs, that the place called Nafs or "Uwon-nafs" spoken of by Vancouver, by the natives in Chebassa strait is the mouth of a river of very considerable extent (but unknown), navigable for small vessels or large canoes. On the banks of this river are many villages and tribes extending one beyond another, until you reach a fine open country, whose inhabitants never visit the sea-coast.

Off Attooi, 25th Oct. 1802.

I was highly diverted to see the natives swimming backwards and forwards from the outside canoes, bringing their arms full of articles to dispose of, and diving under the canoes, that were in the way. Sometimes a fellow would catch up a pretty large sized hog under his arm, plunge under water, and after passing under four or five canoes, came up with his half drowned hog along side of the ship. It is surprising to observe how active they are in the water; they appear to be as much at home in that element as the fish themselves. I remark that they can swim faster under water, than on the surface: when the ship has way on her, and they happen to get astern, they commonly plunge and swim under water till they come up with her.

November 2, 1802. Woahoo.

Tamaahmaah's government is very mild, considering it is absolutely arbitrary. Since the year after he took Woahoo, in 1796, not above ten or a dozen persons have been sacrificed yearly at the morai. Considering the large population, and that all criminals, who suffer capitally, perish there,

there, this number is certainly very small. Capt. Stewart says, he never knew an innocent person to be sacrificed; on the contrary, it is none but old hardened criminals, who have been guilty of the worst of crimes, that suffer, and many go unpunished, whom the laws of their country condemn.

Criminals are sacrificed at the morai at some great taboo. During the interval between the commission of their crimes and their death, they are suffered to follow their usual occupations unmolested, and ignorant of their destiny. The law condemns him to death, who is guilty of fraud in some, if not in all instances. A man, who under pretence of being sent by the king, obtains from another any articles for his own use, comes under this law. Such instances seldom occur, or if they do are winked at.

The opinion that the people of this country are cannibals, which Cook's voyage gave rise to, and which was supported by Capt. King, was ill founded. They despise the idea.

Their tradition hands down the names of nine hundred and fifty and odd kings, who have reigned over these islands, including his present majesty, and his son Ereehoo rehoo a child about five years old, apparent heir to the throne: their characters are also handed down, and they say, no one has ever caused so few of his subjects to be killed, as the present king. To allow ten years upon an average for the reign of each king, would make the world much older, than it is generally allowed among us to be.

They have a tradition of a flood, which deluged all the islands, the summit of Mowna koah in Owhyhee only remained dry, and there a pair of each kind of man and beast, and every living creature were saved alive.

Nov. 4, 1802. *Oncehow.*

They are the most inconsiderate and lively creatures in the world, they laugh and sing for hours and hours together, and do not seem to know what trouble is. Although during our stay here the ship was continually crowded, yet I certainly never saw one of them with a sad or downcast countenance. To judge from their ac-

tions,

tions and appearance, one would suppose them free from vices and dissensions, and incapable of doing mischief. If you beat them out of the ship, they shew no marks of displeasure ; if their canoes are broken, or upset, and their whole contents sunk, (of which I saw more than one instance) they still retain their cheerfulness, and pass it off with a laugh : they never pretend to fret and worry about such accidents as trouble us. Their country, which has been so well described by Cook and Vancouver, is certainly one of the finest in the world ; its produce affords its inhabitants ample subsistence, requiring so little labour in cultivation, that it may almost be deemed spontaneous. Their tarro is a very rich root, which I am extremely partial to, and in this respect I am not singular ; it has when baked more of the taste and consistency of bread, than the bread fruit itself ; I think it is intitled to the appellation of bread root ; could it be obtained at home I am sure I should never eat any more bread.

The potatoes are large and good, most of them sweet like the Carolina potatoes ; there are several kinds of them, one has exactly the colour and taste of the pumpkin, and another kind is of a deep red, or purple colour, like a beet.

Plantains and bananas when ripe, taste like what we call orange pears. Tea-root has a sugar-candy taste, and makes good beer and vinegar.

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CURIOUS EXTRACT FROM REV. COTTON MATHER'S MEMOIRS OF REMARKABLES IN THE LIFE OF HIS FATHER, DR. I. MATHER, CONTAINING A CONVERSATION BETWEEN DR. M. WHEN MASSACHUSETTS AGENT, AND KING WILLIAM, &c.

ON March 14, 1689, the lord Wharton, introduced him to king William ; and Mr. Mather knowing that the King desired none but very short speeches, only said, *I congratulate your Majesties happy accession to the crown, and I humbly implore your favour to New-England.*

King. You may rest assured, that I will shew them all the favour, which it is in my power to do.

Math.

Math. I may humbly and freely speak it ; the very prayers of that people, will be of some service to your majesty. They are a good and a praying people.

King. I believe they are a good people ; but I doubt, there have been irregularities in their government.

Math. I durst engage, that they shall at the first word reform any irregularities they shall be advised of.

Ld. Wharton. — And I'll be their guarantee, and here is Mr. Mather the rector of the College there, shall be the other. We two will stand bound for New-England, that they shall act regularly for the future.

King. I will forthwith give order, that Sr. Edmund Andros shall be removed from the government of New-England, and be called unto an account for his male-administration. And I will direct, that the present King and Queen shall be proclaimed by their former magistrates.

Math. Syr, they will do it with the joyfullest hearts in the world.

§. 3. This true New-England-man considering how wonderfully New-England had prospered under the Old Charter, and how desirous the people for whom he was now concerned, were to have it restored ; he advised with the wisest friends he could find, about this momentous affair. Their concurrent judgment was, That the best course would be to endeavour for a reversion of the judgment against the Massachusetts-Charter by an Act of Parliament ; and afterwards petition to the King for the additional privileges, without which the Old Charter would not answer the occasions, and necessities of the people. Mr. Mather hereupon made most indefatigable applications unto the principal men in that Convention Parliament ; the effect of which was, That in the House of Commons the Charters of New-England were expressly put into the Charter-Bill : It was voted, That the taking of them away was a grievance, and that they should be restored. And a great interest was also made in the House of Lords, that when the Bill should come up to them, for their concurrence, New-England might be there also favoured. At the same time, [July 4, 1689.] Mr. Mather was again introduced by the Lord Wharton unto the King at Hampton Court : and said,

Math.

Math. I presume your Majesty has been informed, of the great service, which your subjects in New-England, have done for your Majesty, and for this nation, and for the Protestant interest, in securing that territory for king William.

King. I have seen some letters that speak of it, and I kindly accept of what they have done.

Math. If your Majesty would please to command that your kind acceptance of what they have done shall be signified unto them, it will be a great encouragement.

King. I will give order to the Secretary of State, that a letter be written to them, to let them understand, that what they have done is acceptable to me.

Math. Your Majesty may, by the assistance of New-England, whenever you please, become the Emperour of America. I durst engage, that your subjects there, will readily venture their lives and estates in your service. All that is humbly desired on their behalf, is only that they may enjoy their ancient rights and privileges.

King. I do assure you, I will do all that it is in my power to do, that it may be so.

Mr. Mead being with him, told the King, that he could not possibly do any thing more grateful to his dissenting subjects in England, than in being kind unto New-England in the restoring of their former privileges. The King bad them rest satisfied, *That it should be done.*

But behold, while the Charter Bill was depending, the Convention-Parliament was unexpectedly prorogued, and then dissolved; and Mr. Mather found the Sisyphæan labour of a whole year come to nothing.

§. 4. The disposition of the next Parliament soon appeared such, that nothing in the favour of New-England was to be expected there. Mr. Mather then made some essays, to see if by a writ of error in judgment, the case relating to the Massachuset-Colony might be brought out of chancery into the King's Bench; but this attempt also was defeated by so surprizing a providence, that Mr. Mather declared upon it; *Never did I see a more signal hand of Heaven in any matter, than in disappointing all hopes, for the obtaining the so much desired full restitution of all our charter privileges, by a reversion of the judgment entered against them.* All

All hopes of obtaining the restoration of the Old Charter being at an end, there was no way left, but a flight unto the royal favour ; for though it was not in the Kings power to reverse the judgment against the Old Charter, yet his Majesty had power to re-incorporate his good subjects there; and grant them a New Charter, that should contain all the old, with new and more ample privileges ; without which, the old would not have been sufficient.

Mr. Mather, with two other agents, which the Massachuset-Colony had then joined with him, now signed a petition to the King for such a New Charter : which petition the Right Honourable Earl of Monmouth condescended so far, as to deliver with his own truly noble hand. Whereupon Mr. Mather obtained the intercession of a great personage, which prevailed with the King to refer the affair of New-England unto the consideration of the two Lord Chief Justices, with his Majesties Attorney and Solicitor-General : All of whom had by Mr. Mathers powerful and assiduous applications been brought into the New English interests. They met three or four times, and kindly gave him leave to be present with them at all their consultations. The heads of the Massachuset Old Charter, and Sr. Ferdinando Gorges, were presented in writing, together with such additional privileges, as were then pray'd for : And they all judged, there was nothing unreasonable, or prejudicial to the Kings interest, in what was proposed. They were presented unto the King, by the lord chief justice Holt ; and the King ordered him to present them unto the Council ; who did accordingly ; and from thence they were transferred unto the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations.

§. 5. Immediately upon this, the King took his voyage for Holland ; and before his return, there was no more to be done. But still Mr. Mather would be doing of something for the good of his country. He published, *Reasons for the confirmation of Charter-Privileges, granted to the Massachuset-Colony*, which he dispersed among the Lords of his Majesties most honourable Privy-Council ; and personally addressed himself unto the most of them ; humbly praying their lordships favour to New-England, in a matter that appeared so equal. His maxim was, That in
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all affairs, a few did all ; and his method was, to find out the most potent leaders in all affairs, and make sure of them. If he knew any N. C. minister, who had an interest in any person of quality, he would engage that minister to employ his interest on the behalf of New-England ; one way of engaging him, was by preaching for him : And, this also introduced him into the same acquaintance. There were several noblemen, who likewise brought him into the knowlege and favour of others. But none did more for him that way, than that cordial and constant lover of all good men, the aged lord Wharton, who was the last surviving member of that famous assembly of divines at Westminster. Among those eminent persons, who admitted him to be familiar with them, I will particularly mention two that were of an ecclesiastical character, for the sake of the good that was done to New-England by his acquaintance with them. The one was Dr. Tillotson, the arch-bishop of Canterbury : who did, at his desire, often concern himself to do kind offices for the country, and pray, both the King and Queen to put marks of their favour on their faithful subjects there ; and once he went so far as to tell the King, *It would by no means do well for him to take away any of those privileges from the people of New-England, which K. Charles I. had granted them.* And indeed Mr. Mather often spoke of the Catholick spirit, with which the arch-bishop of Canterbury blamed the conduct of his predecessor Laud, in his discourses with him. The other was, Dr. Burnet, the bishop of Salisbury : who besides many real and weighty expressions of his kindness for the country, told him, that he would on the first opportunity declare openly in the House of Lords, *That there was a greater sacredness in the Charter of New-England, than in those of the Corporations in England ; because those were only acts of grace, whereas the Charter of New-England was a contract between the King and the first Patentees : They promised the King to enlarge his dominions, on their own charges, provided, that they and their posterity might enjoy such and such privileges : They had performed their part ; now for the King to deprive their posterity of the privileges therein granted unto them, would carry a face of injustice in it.* A Lord great in the Court, then told Mr. Mather, That

his having engaged the bishop of Salisbury to appear for New-England, was the *best jobb he had done these seven years.*

§. 6. But a greater than any of these, must not be left unsolicited. Mr. Mather was by Madam Lockart introduced unto the Queen, on April 9. 1691. and she left him alone with her Majesty, that he might the more freely represent the case of New-England unto her.

The discourse was, as followeth.

Math. I do most humbly pray your Majesties favour to your good subjects in New-England. There are none in the world more in your interest than they ; nor any that do with greater devotion pray for your long and happy reign. They have indeed been exposed unto great troubles on the account of their loyalty unto your Majesty. For the French at Canada, who have invaded them, and have destroyed several of their plantations, gave that as the reason of what they did ; because the people there have declared for king William and queen Mary. They now only pray, that they may be resettled in the enjoyment of those privileges, which they were possessed of, until the last year of king Charles II.

Queen. That matter has been a long time before the Council. I would have that which is just done for them ; and not only so, but that something of favour should be shown to them.

Math. I most humbly thank your Majesty, for the kind words which your Majesty was pleased to speak to my lady Southerland about New-England.

Queen. Mr. Mather, I have had a great character of you, from my lady Southerland. I have spoken to the King on the behalf of New-England. He told me, the matter was before the Council.

Math. It has been referr'd unto the two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General ; we only pray, that the articles approved by them, may be allowed and confirmed to us.

Queen. That seems reasonable ; and I doubt not, but it will be done for you.

Math. I humbly beg, that your Majesty will please to speak so kind a word unto the King upon his return. You will

will thereby bring the blessing of the prayers of a good people on your royal person and government.

Queen. I shall be willing to do all I can for them.

Math. I have reason to believe, that your good subjects there have been misrepresented unto your majesty. Somewhat bear them ill will, have printed many reflections on them.

Queen. I have not seen all the pamphlets.

Math. Sr. William Phips has, with many of your Majesties subjects, endeavoured to enlarge your Majesties dominions ; and they are willing again to expose themselves in your Majesties service.

Queen. Are they able to do it ? I hear they are but in a bad condition.

Math. They are in a bad condition ; but one great reason of it is, because their government yet remains unsettled.

Queen. That I believe ; it must needs be so.

Math. If by your Majesties favour, they shall be restored unto their former privileges, they will revive, and become able to serve your Majesties interest.

Queen. I doubt, there have been differences there, as well as here, about church-government.

Math. In New-England they are generally those that are called Non-Conformists : But they carry it with all due respect unto others : We judge some of them to be better men than ourselves. This nation has cause to bless God, for the King, and for your Majesty, in regard of that act of indulgence, and the liberty of conscience, which through your Majesties favour we now enjoy.

Queen. 'Tis what I am for. It is not in the power of men to believe what they please ; and therefore I think, they should not be forced in matters of religion, contrary to their persuasions and their consciences. I wish all good men were of one mind ; however in the mean time, I would have them live peaceably, and love one another.

O mentis aureæ verba bracteata ! My ink, too vile a liquor art thou, to write so divine a sentence !

§. 7. Before the month was out, the King returned from Holland ; and though he staid but a fortnight in England, Mr. Mather twice had the honour of waiting on him. The first time he only presented an address from
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the General Court at Boston, with a petition from a considerable number of merchants in London, praying that Charter-privileges might be restored unto New-England. But Mr. Mather was desirous once more to plead with him for favour to his country : and therefore by the mediation of the Duke of Devonshire, he was, on April 28. admitted a second time, and it was now into the Kings bed-chamber : Where what then passed was, as followeth.

Math. I most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you were graciously pleased to signify unto my lord Devonshire, that I might have leave to wait on your Majesty on the behalf of New-England. None of your subjects, are or can be more in your interests than they ; none pray more heartily for your long life, and your happy reign, and the success of your arms.

King. Syr, what do you desire, that I should do for them !

Math. May it please your Majesty, that they may be restored unto their ancient privileges ; and that their settlement may be expedited. They have an humble confidence, that through your Majesties goodness, they shall be made happy, in having their ancient privileges restored unto them ; which will oblige your subjects there to be your servants forever. Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to refer the consideration of this affair to the two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General. We only pray humbly that what they have thought reasonable for us to desire, may be granted by your Majesty.

King. I expect within two or three days, to have a report from the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations ; and then shall see what may be done.

Math. Your Majesties subjects have been willing to venture their lives that they may enlarge your dominions : And are willing to do the like again, if your Majesty encourage them. Will your Majesty please, in your great wisdom, to consider the circumstances of that people ; as in your wisdom you have considered the circumstances of England and of Scotland. In New-England they differ from other plantations ; they are such as are called Congregational and Presbyterian. So that such a Governour will not suit
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with the people of New-England, as may be very proper for the other English plantations.

Having so spoken, he bowed unto the King ; who then retired into his closet.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE NATURAL PRODUCTION OF IRON ORES, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF SMELTING FURNACES, AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE IRON MANUFACTURE IN THE COUNTY OF PLYMOUTH. BY DR. JAMES THACHER.

THE abundant production of mineral ores, and the important manufacture dependant upon their discovery, have not frequently been the subject of investigation in our country. The art of metallurgy and the discovery of iron may probably be classed among the antediluvian events, and from high antiquity iron has been held in estimation as the most useful of all the metals. We have in the writings of Moses, who was born more than 1500 years before the christian era, ample proof, that even prior to his days furnaces were constructed, by the aid of which iron was extracted from its ores, and by the skill of the artists converted into swords, knives, axes, &c.* Since that period mankind have acquired the art not only of converting iron into the ordinary instruments of agriculture and utensils of domestick life, but into the more formidable weapons of war. It is from the discovery of iron, that we are indebted for the rods, which shield our dwellings from lightning, and for the compass, that invaluable guide to the mariner.

Iron possesses principles, which pervade the various kingdoms of nature, and is distinguished from all other metals by its medicinal effects upon the human system, imparting, like oxygen, invigourating and restorative powers to the valetudinarian. And since every art and manufacture is more or less dependent upon this useful metal, Infinite Wisdom has provided, that in the bowels of the earth

* Gen. iv. 22.
Numb. xxxv. 16.
Deut. iv. 20.

Deut. xix. 5.
Ibid. viii. 9.
Ibid. xxvii. 5.

Job xix. 29.
Ibid. xl. 18.

earth it shall abound in a degree commensurate with its vast utility to mankind.

The very numerous and abundant sources of mineral ores, with which our earth is so richly impregnated, afford an ample and interesting field for the inquisitive naturalist to explore. A chemical analysis of their particular character and properties will not be expected from one, who has no claim to proficiency in the science of mineralogy. My endeavours, therefore, will be limited by a simple description of their more obvious appearances, and some cursory observations. Specimens of the various kinds of ore produced in this county, or used in our works, will for farther satisfaction accompany this communication.

There are in the county of Plymouth several ponds, in which are found copious beds of iron ore; of these Assawampset in Middleboro', Monponsett in Halifax, and Sampson's pond in Carver, are the most distinguished for their prolific virtues in this respect. It is now about sixty years since ore was first taken from the ponds, the former of which during a considerable period afforded an annual supply of six hundred tons; but is now so far exhausted, that not more than three hundred tons can be procured; and about one hundred tons is also taken annually from each of the others.

The generating principle and process of nature in producing iron ore in these ponds afford a phenomenon, which will probably elude the assiduity of philosophical research. The period of its growth is supposed to be about twenty-five years; and it is found in various depths of water from two to twenty feet. A man accustomed to the employment being in a small boat, with an instrument similar to oyster tongs, can raise from its watery bed about half a ton of this ore in a day.

From the great mechanical ingenuity displayed to the honour of some of our citizens, we are encouraged to hope for the application of some machinery, as an advantageous substitute for the very operose and expensive method hitherto practised.

Of this ore we distinguish three varieties:—1st. Found on ledges in shoal water in various forms, some from the size of peas to that of bullets; others in oblong or flat pieces

pieces of a reddish brown, called ledge or shot ore, yields nearly 25 per cent. of good iron. Some pieces of this ore, having a hard external covering, include in a cavity a nucleus like a kernel in a nut ; others have small stones adhering to them as if cemented together. By investigating their internal texture, the process of metallisation from earthy and stony substances appears to be clearly demonstrated. In one fragment the stone, or original substance, is found just assuming the metallick character, another exhibits the process in a more advanced state resembling mouldering wood, and in the third the stone or earthy substance is obliterated and the process perfected ; a species of slate is the stone with which this ore appears to have a particular affinity. 2d. Resembling in shape and size a Turkey fig, found in a depth from two to six feet of water, of a dark brown colour called 'pancake ore', yields from 20 to 30 per cent. Clams and muscles in a living state are frequently found intermixed with these ores, and in some instances their entire shells have formed a nucleus enclosed as in a matrix. 3d. Denominated black ore, found in deep water on a muddy bottom in cakes of a dirty black colour, and of an earthy appearance, whose metallick particles are so loosely connected together, that it easily crumbles in pieces. This ore is esteemed not so much for the quantity of iron it contains, as for its peculiar quality in meliorating and promoting the fusion of the more refractory ores. The average price of the above ores is six dollars per ton at the furnace.

About the year 1751 Joseph Holmes, whilst angling in Jones river pond in Kingston, fortunately discovered, by his hook, that it contained a bed of iron ore ; and, on exploring the whole circumference of the pond, ore was found in great abundance and of various forms and appearances. About 3000 tons were in a few years taken from it, some of which yielded 25 per cent. of excellent iron ; and a considerable quantity of cannon shot were manufactured from it during the American war. But the bed being exhausted and the growth remarkably slow, very little ore has been produced from it for twenty years past. Bog ore abounds in swamps and other low places, subject to an overflow of water issuing from springs, particular

ticularly in the vicinity of the several ore ponds ; between which and the sea almost every bog is impregnated with it, extending even to the margin of salt marshes. Its growth is observed to be more rapid where springs most abound, and diverting the course of the water subverts the production of ore no less effectually than vegetation is destroyed by depriving the stamina of its nutriment. This ore is disposed in beds or strata of various depths from the surface, and of divers irregular shapes. From some strata, four feet thick, masses have been digged weighing from one hundred to five hundred pounds ; more frequently, however, it is found widely disseminated and intermixed with a kind of loam. Veins of this ore have been traced from bogs to the adjacent hills, the natural matrix of minerals and probably the generating source of bog-ores. It is of a rusty brown colour, yielding about 18 per cent. and worth four dollars per ton at the furnace.

There is another kind found in bogs and swamps, which the workmen call swamp or mud ore ; it is a ferruginous earth, or glebe, resembling black mould, externally destitute of any metallick appearance ; but being washed with water, small granulated particles of iron subside to the bottom. On examining a quantity of this earth, my attention was attracted by some pieces of a beautiful sky-blue. It is found four feet below the surface, and when first discovered is of a pale yellow ; but coming in contact with the air, is soon changed to that of native Prussian blue.* This admixture affords some iron, and is deemed an indispensable ingredient to qualify, and render more fusible, hard and refractory ores. Bog ore being all digged from its bed, the workmen are careful to cover the cavity with loose earth, leaves, bushes, and other rubbish, calculating upon another growth in ten or fifteen years ; not unfrequently, however, this expectation is realized in seven years, and it may be remarked, as a curious fact in natural history, that in the short period of four or five years,

* “ Native Prussian blue consists of clay mixed with iron, and coloured with some unknown tinging substance, generally found in swampy grounds or bogs. It is first white, but when exposed to the air is of a light or deep blue. Mr. Woulfe found this kind of ore in Scotland on the surface of the earth.” *Encyclo. article Iron.*

years, those vegetable substances, even branches of trees, suffer a complete transition to a metallick state. Does not this indicate an analogy between metallick and organick substances?

Upland Ores. There is on the island of Martha's Vineyard a mine of iron ore of considerable extent and value. It is brought to our works in large lumps of a reddish brown colour, affording about 25 per cent. and is worth six dollars per ton. Iron from this ore exhibits a peculiar degree of smoothness and lustre.

A very considerable proportion of ore smelted in our furnaces is procured from the very productive mines at Egg-harbour, in the state of New-Jersey. This is produced in large masses compact and ponderous, some weighing 100 lb. each, of a reddish brown colour, producing from 30 to 40 per cent. of excellent iron. The usual price is 6 $\frac{5}{100}$ dollars per ton. The founder finds it expedient to calcine and pulverize the large lumps previous to its being committed to the operation of the furnace.

There is at Cape Elizabeth, near Portland, a mine, which is supposed to be valuable; but a few tons of the ore having been essayed at the Federal furnace, it proved to be unproductive, being of that description, which the founder terms dead ore. On inquiry it is ascertained, that the quantity referred to was taken from the surface, which by long exposure to the air had suffered a spontaneous calcination, and was in a great measure divested of its metallick principle. It is, however, extremely probable, that by exploring the internal parts of the mine a rich and productive ore may be obtained. Some of the above described ores, being roasted and pulverized, are attracted by the magnet; but being destitute of a good one, and not being versed in the operation, my experiments are deemed unimportant.

Smelting of iron ores is performed in large blast furnaces composed of stone. The success of the process very much depends upon the skill and judgment of the founder; some ore by itself sustains the most vehement degree of heat, that art has hitherto been able to excite; but by a judicious admixture of two or more varieties their fusibility is effectuated with great facility. Charcoal is the only
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fuel, and marine shells (a substitute for lime stone or calcareous earth,) is the only fluxing material that our workmen employ. The experienced founder having acquired an accurate knowledge of the intrinsic dissimilarity and distinguishing characteristics of the various kinds of ore, which become the subject of his operation, will in the course of the process draw inferences from the greater or less degree of fluidity of the scoria and the appearance of sulphur, which is expelled from the ore upon its surface; by these indications he will learn whether to increase or diminish the power of the bellows, and how to proportion the fuel to the ore and shells.

The first furnace for smelting iron ore, known in the county of Plymouth, was erected in the year 1702, by Lambert Despard (a founder) and the family of Barkers, his associates, at the mouth of Mattakeset pond in the town of Pembroke, but the wood in the vicinity being exhausted, the works were long since abandoned.

Furnaces for the purpose of converting iron ores into pig iron, and those which produce the various kinds of castings, are not variant in their construction. The former manufacture, however, is not, I believe, prosecuted in this Commonwealth; but there are in the county of Plymouth ten blast furnaces of the latter description.

A situation fraught with all the advantages, which nature in some instances so wonderfully combines, does not frequently present itself to our choice. A rivulet issuing from a good and permanent head of water, a forest of pine or other wood, calculated to support a vast consumption of charcoal, and an inexhaustible source of the various kinds of iron ore in its vicinity, form the essential requisites. A site most favourable to the views of the founder being selected, a capacious edifice of proper dimensions is to be erected. The most valuable structure of this description, with which I am acquainted is the Federal furnace, situated in Carver, seven miles and an half from Plymouth. It was erected in the year 1794, and the manufacture is there prosecuted to great extent and advantage. The area is twenty-four feet, in the centre of which is a well dug with a drain to carry off the moisture. The wall is seven feet thick on all sides, leaving in the centre of the edifice

edifice a cavity of about ten feet diameter, and twenty feet high, within which another wall formed of fire-stone (a soft slate) is carried up converging at the top. A circular canal, eight feet diameter at the widest part, is thus formed in the centre of the building, nearly resembling an hen's egg standing on its largest end. Near the top, on one side, an aperture is left for the purpose of charging the furnace with fuel and ore, and upon the summit of the canal stands a brick funnel to convey off the blaze and smoke. At the commencement of the blast an hearth is placed on the basis of the canal, so constructed as to form a square cavity fifteen by eighteen inches, and extending five feet high, the top in the form of a miller's hopper for the reception of the fluid metal. At the bottom of an arch in the front of the furnace is an aperture, from which the workmen remove the scoria and dip out the metal. And in another arch on one side, there is a small aperture for the insertion of the pipes of two large bellows twenty-two feet long and four feet wide, which being kept in constant alternate motion by the agency of a water-wheel twenty-five feet diameter, a powerful current of air is excited; and being impelled upon the surface of the fuel, the fusion of the metal is greatly accelerated. The whole of this machinery is included in a large wooden building, affording accommodation to the workmen with their apparatus for moulding and casting. Both the form and materials of the bellows in common use at our large works are liable to important objections. The leather, of which their base and sides are composed, is found to be extremely difficult to preserve perfectly tight; some portion of the air also, instead of being impelled through the pipe, rushes into their sides, and being retained impedes the ingress of external air through the valve. Their alternate action too affords, instead of a continued current, only an interrupted blast not calculated to excite the requisite degree of heat. A complete remedy for all these evils is, I learn, found in a valuable substitute now employed in the large foundries in Europe. This consists of three or more cast iron cylinders of about three feet diameter, each having a valve at the bottom and furnished with a piston carried by a water-wheel. A pipe from each cylinder conveys the air
into

into the furnace, if not in a constant current, yet the interruption is scarcely perceivable ; and even this may be prevented by the addition of a large iron reservoir, which should receive the air from the several cylinders through valves opening into it, and from these it is conveyed by a single pipe into the furnace in a manner perfectly equable and regular.

Hearth Stone. It has long been an important object of inquiry to procure a stone for the hearth, possessing qualities calculated to sustain for a length of time the heat of a furnace without melting, a casualty which not unfrequently occurs soon after the commencement of a blast, subjecting the proprietors to great expense and disappointment. A stone for this purpose, of the granite kind, has been procured at Bridgwater, which in some instances has succeeded, as also the common coarse grind-stone from Nova-Scotia. A kind of free stone from Smithfield, Connecticut, has also obtained some repute. But the stone, which in the opinion of our founders has acquired a decided superiority, is procured from a large quarry at Stratford in Connecticut. It is a white free stone, and by the assistance of a drill and sledge may be separated into any desirable form. It is curiously laminated, some of the layers may be separated into very thin pieces, and it appears as if composed of sand cemented together, exhibiting fine glittering spangles, like the scales of fishes. Being exposed to intense heat the internal surface becomes vitrified, and in process of time is converted into a substance hard as marble. After being exposed, however, to the action of the bellows and to vehement heat sixteen or eighteen weeks it becomes so worn as to suffer the ore, fuel, and scoria to fall together into the receiver with the pure metal. It then becomes expedient to discontinue the blast until a new hearth can be erected. Five tons or sixty feet of this stone is the usual quantity for an hearth, the expense of which is seventy-six dollars.

Heating the furnace for fusing the ore should be done gradually and with care to prevent the wall receiving injury by cracking. Ten days is the usual period, and fifty loads of charcoal of eighty bushels each, is consumed during the process of ignition. So powerfully is heat conducted by

by the substances in contact, that even the external part of a seven feet wall is observed to be replete with calorick. In this connection the query occurs, whether in an economical view very important advantages would not result from the application of Count Rumford's new principle of the philosophy of calorick (heat.) The cavity between the external and internal walls, instead of being filled with sand and rubbish possessing strong conducting powers, may be left to be occupied by air alone, or filled with some substance, demonstrated to be a non-conductor of heat. Should this theory be put in practice the consumption of a considerable quantity of fuel might probably be avoided.

The observation is familiar to the consumers of charcoal, that by age it acquires a property, which renders it essentially more valuable, affording a degree of heat more intense and durable.

I am not confident, that I can satisfactorily account for this phenomenon upon philosophical principles. But the fact is, that charcoal being remarkably replete with pores has, when fresh made, a strong attraction for atmospherical air, which it continues to absorb for a considerable length of time; in consequence of which its density and specific gravity are greatly increased. With a view of ascertaining the quantity of air absorbed, Dr. Priestly exposed on the 4th of September a piece of charcoal newly charred from dry oak, weighing 364 grains. Two or three days after it weighed 390, and on the 24th of October 419 grains. Having a similar end in view, I have experienced the following results.

A piece of charcoal, fresh made from green pine wood and taken immediately from the pit, weighed April 9th in a dry atmosphere 442 grains, being exposed in an upper chamber till the 13th, being a rainy day, weighed 465 grns.

And on the 17th, in a dry atmosphere, 465

On 24th, in a damp atmosphere, 476

It is obvious, therefore, upon the principle of economy, charcoal when taken from the pit should be secured under cover for some months before it be used, and the consumer will realize a profit adequate to his care and trouble.

Moulding. The sand used for moulding is of a peculiar kind, being of a soft yellowish and cohesive nature. It is found

ound in particular places about six inches below the surface of the earth in a strata about four inches thick, and bedded on another of coarse sand or gravel. Being freed from gravel and other impurities by sifting, it is worked over upon the floor with a kind of roller until sufficiently prepared for the process of moulding. This operation is performed in wooden frames or flasks of a size and form proportioned to the utensil intended to be cast; these being filled with sand a little moistened to render it more cohesive, the moulds or patterns are to be so applied and pressed into the sand as to leave their impression. Pots, tea-kettles, and other vessels, being larger at the bottom than the top cannot, it is evident, be moulded but with patterns cut into two separate parts, each of which are pressed together in moulding. A peculiar dexterity is displayed in withdrawing the patterns without injuring the impression. This being done the several parts of the flasks are closely pressed together and secured by hooks and pins; and, when the whole of them are arranged in order, the fluid metal is poured into them, through a small channel left for that purpose. The patterns, by which the moulds are formed for casting the several utensils, should be composed of brass, or some other metal, and made very thin, that the vessels may be as light as possible. Owing to a want of attention in this particular those articles imported from England have in many instances commanded the preference.

When the whole internal furnace has acquired a strong white heat, the bellows are put in motion, and the ore, charcoal, and shells, being duly proportioned, are thrown in at the top by small quantities every hour. The ore descending to the hottest part of the furnace, at length, gradually melting, drops down through the fuel into the receiver, where at an aperture left for the purpose, the scoria coating on the surface of the metal, resembling lava from a volcano, is occasionally removed by a long iron hook. A sufficient quantity of pure iron being collected in the receiver, the action of the bellows is discontinued for the space of about twenty minutes for the purpose of casting. This operation occurs at the end of every nine or ten hours, and a ton of iron is taken out at each casting. The fluid

fluid metal is dipped out at the aperture with iron ladles well covered with a composition of clay, &c. and with them is poured into the several moulds prepared for the purpose, and is thus formed into the various utensils and machinery for which cast iron is a proper material. Immediately after casting, the several articles are taken out of the moulds and carried to the dresser, whose duty it is with files and brushes to render them clean and smooth ready for the market.

The specifick articles manufactured at the Federal furnace are, besides hollow ware of every description, Seymour's patent rolls for flitting mills, of a superiour quality, cast in iron cylinders, pot-ash kettles, stoves, fire-backs and jambs, plates, gudgeons, anvils, large hammers, cannon shot of every kind, with a vast variety of machinery for mills, &c.

The period of a blast does not exceed sixteen or eighteen weeks, but two or three blasts occupy about six months annually, during which 360 tons of hollow ware, or other castings equivalent* are manufactured, and the following expenditures occur, viz.

	Dolls.	Cts.
2130 cords of wood converted into 1420 loads		
of charcoal, at D.2 50 - - - -	3550	00
726 tons of ore, at 6 dollars - - - -	4356	00
Two sets of stone for hearth - - - -	153	32
Compensation to the founder, at D.1 pr. ton	360	00
Do. moulders and other workmen - - - -	2331	00
	Dolls.	10,750 32

The whole quantity of iron ware, manufactured in the county of Plymouth by the several furnaces, may be estimated at fifteen hundred tons annually.

The manufacture of wrought iron from crude ore is not carried to great extent in this county; but there are ten forges, which are employed principally in working old iron

* In estimating a ton of hollow ware it is not to be understood as meaning a ton in weight, but a nominal ton, consisting of an assortment of large and small articles, which in fact will not weigh more than twelve hundred.

iron scraps, broken pots, kettles, &c. And produce about two hundred tons of bar iron per annum.

The other branches of iron manufacture, such as produce anchors, shovels and spades, scythes, nails, iron for ship building, &c. are pursued to an extent, which furnishes unquestionable attestation to the spirit of industry and enterprize, which prevails among our citizens.

Shovels and spades, manufactured in this county, were formerly conceived to be of a quality, but little inferior to those imported; but unfortunately their reputation has of late become greatly diminished, and those articles now sell at a reduced price in our market. Could this subject attract the attention of our legislature, that an inspection law might be enacted relative to these articles, the most important advantage would result from the measure, as our manufactures would in a few years afford a supply adequate to the demand in the United States.

While investigating this subject an opportunity offers, and is cheerfully improved, to render justice to the meritorious services of a late respectable and worthy fellow citizen, the Hon. HUGH ORR, Esquire. He was born January 13, 1717, in Lochwinioch in the shire of Renfrew in Scotland, where he was educated a *gunsmith and house-lock filer*. Having at the age of twenty emigrated to America he spent one year in his employment at Easton in the county of Bristol. But with the view of a more eligible situation he removed to Bridgewater, where he erected a shop and the first trip hammer known in this part of the country. He commenced his experiments in the manufacture of scythes, and it was by his exertions, prompted by an ardent desire of promoting the useful arts in an infant country, that the scythe and axe manufactory were introduced in the states of Rhode-Island and Connecticut. And such were the happy resources of his mind and love of enterprize, that there was no branch of iron manufactory, that did not at some period become the object of his pursuit, nor was there any obstacle too formidable for his perseverance to surmount. For several years he was the only edge tool maker in this part of the country, and ship carpenters, mill-wrights, &c. in this county, and state of Rhode-Island, constantly resorted to him for supply. And,
indeed,

indeed, such was his fame, that applications were frequently made to him from the distance of twenty miles, for the purpose of having an axe, an adze, or auger new tempered by his hands.

About the year 1748 he made five hundred stands of arms for the province of Massachusetts-Bay, which were deposited in Castle William; nearly all, however, were carried off by the British, when they evacuated the town of Boston.

The perilous state of our country after the commencement of the revolutionary war afforded new scope for his enterprizing genius, and fresh impulse to his sentiments of patriotism. Instances were not numerous of foreigners entering with cordiality into the merits of our cause; he was one of its early advocates and continued among its firm supporters, notwithstanding the reiterated entreaties of his friends and correspondents in Europe. The publick interest and prosperity were dear to his heart, and his mind glowed with a zealous solicitude for the exigences of his adopted country. He was again employed in manufacturing a number of stands of arms, and under his superintendence, in concert with a French gentleman, a foundry for casting cannon was erected. Iron ordnance were till within a few years of this period cast with a cylindrical cavity, of a diameter somewhat smaller than the intended caliber, which was afterwards bored out to a proper size; but this method was found by experience to be attended with inconveniences. The guns were extremely liable to be spongy in that part where strength and smoothness are required. To remedy this evil an improved method had recently been introduced in Europe. The gun was to be cast solid, and the caliber afterwards, with a boring bar-iron and cutter to be perforated and smoothed out to its proper diameter. This method, however difficult and laborious, was adopted by Mr. Orr at the new foundry at Bridgewater, and from his exertions a great number of pieces of iron, and several pieces of brass ordnance, from 3 to 42 pounders, besides a vast quantity of cannon shot, were produced, which being distributed to different parts of our army proved, at that critical conjuncture of affairs, an acquisition of inestimable value.

His knowledge of minerals and ores was so extensive, that from every newly discovered mine in the country he was immediately furnished with specimens of its quality, and a few years previous to his death he was in possession of a valuable collection of them.

At an early period of his residence in Bridgewater, observing that our farmers had not been in the habit of preserving their flax-seed for market, he endeavored to inculcate among them the expediency of preserving and preparing that article for exportation. The suggestion, however, instead of being favourably received, excited in many instances considerable animosity. Having imbibed the chimerical idea, that seed exported to Europe would enable them to cultivate flax to an extent, that might eventually prove subversive of our own cultivation; some, even of those who were allied to him by the ties of friendship, actually destroyed their flax-seed, lest it should fall into his hands. But impressed with its importance, and resolving to accomplish the interesting object, he became himself the purchaser; and having constructed a curious and useful machine, of which he was the original inventor, for the purpose of cleaning the flax-seed, and having accumulated a large quantity, conveyed it to Boston, whence he exported it to Scotland, and received a profitable return. Thus he became the first exporter of flax-seed from the county of Plymouth, if not from New-England, and to the exertions of this gentleman are we indebted for the introduction of that valuable article of commerce, which had not before been considered worth preservation.

After the establishment of our independence, he exhibited another proof of his extensive and disinterested views by his attempt to introduce the cotton manufactory. For the purpose of effecting this project, he obtained the aid and patronage of our Legislature. But to construct a machinery of so complicated and intricate a nature as that for carding and spinning cotton required the skill and experience of the most perfect artist. Having engaged two men of mechanical ingenuity, who had been employed in repairing similar works in Scotland, they commenced, and at length executed, the arduous undertaking. The machine, by the direction of our government, was deposited
in

in the care of Mr. Orr, as a model for general inspection. A machine for weaving cotton cloth and others of less importance were also the result of his enterprising spirit. But in consequence of these laudable pursuits he was again subjected to the unjust reproach of his disingenuous neighbours, alleging that his machines would supersede the industrious labourers in their employment.

In social life the subject of this memoir was remarkable for the endearing qualities of his mind and a happy talent in animating conversation, by a display of satirick, but chaste wit and pleasantry.

From his religious adherence to sound principles, ornamented by domestick virtues and exemplary manners, his character was deemed unexceptionable, and he was for several years elected a member of the senate for the county of Plymouth, where he exhibited genuine patriotism and publick virtue. His strong and vigorous mind and correct judgment were regarded with honour; and confidence was reposed in the rectitude of his counsel.

In the year 1786, when the foundation of our government was agitated by the alarming spirit of insurrection, he was a confidential friend of governour Bowdoin, and no man could be more firm and decided in support of energetick measures calculated to re-establish the authority of government.

Having arrived at the eighty-second year of his age he died in December, 1798. It may not be improper to observe here, that the present improved method of making scythes by the trip hammer is the result of the successful experiments of Robert Orr, Esq. son of the subject of this memoir, who also introduced the iron shovel manufactory in this state. He is now master armourer of the publick arsenal at Springfield.*

Having now concluded my observations upon this subject, these pages are with great diffidence submitted to the liberality and candour of the members of the Historical Society, for whom I have the honour of expressing the highest

* For much of this information I am indebted to Dr. Hector Orr, of Bridgewater, who inherits a liberal share of that intelligence and virtue, which distinguished the character of his grandfather.

est respect, and of subscribing myself their devoted and obedient servant,

JAMES THACHER.

Plymouth, May 10, 1804.

“AN ACCOUNT OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE LATE MR. GRENVILLE AND THE SEVERAL COLONY AGENTS, IN THE YEAR 1764, PREVIOUS TO THE PASSING THE STAMP ACT.”

THE following conversation between Mr. Grenville and the colony agents ascertains a material point in history, and is worthy of being more generally known. It is from a book of Israel Mauduit which is interleaved, and many remarks made in his own hand-writing. Having the confidence of the people of Massachusetts, and being a mercenary scribbler for the ministry, he durst not put his name to the pamphlet he wrote, but after his death, his library being sold, his own works, in manuscript as well as in print, were procured by a gentleman who presented them to the Historical Society.

In Minot's history the character of I. M. is accurately described :—“The brother of Jasper Mauduit, who had made himself of importance to ministers by his writings and other active measures in politicks ; and who was afterwards partially united in the agency. These causes, and perhaps we may add the circumstance of Mr. Bollan's being a member of the Church of England and Mr. Mauduit a Dissenter, placed the agent on that poise with the General Court, which it was said, the influence of the governor could turn either way.”

The people of Massachusetts had great reason to repent making the exchange of Mr. Bollan for either of the Mauduits. Notwithstanding the unkind treatment he received, he continued a firm friend to New-England, and interested himself in their affairs to the day of his death.

THE agent for New-York, Mr. Burke, spake thus in the House of Commons :

“THERE is also another circulation abroad (spread with a malignant intention, which I cannot attribute to those

“those who say the same thing in this House) that Mr. Grenville gave the colony-agents an option for their assemblies to tax themselves ; which they had refused. I find that much stress is laid on this, as a fact. However, it happens neither to be true nor possible. I will observe first, that Mr. Grenville never thought fit to make this apology for himself in the innumerable debates that were had upon this subject. He might have proposed to the colony-agents, that they should agree in some mode of taxation, as the ground of an act of parliament : but he never could have proposed that they should tax themselves on requisition ; which is the assertion of the day. Indeed, Mr. Grenville well knew, that the colony-agents could have no general powers to consent to it ; and they had no time to consult their assemblies for particular powers, before he passed his first Revenue Act. If you compare dates you will find it impossible.”

After having so often admired the perspicuity as well as the luxuriant eloquence of this author, I think it a singular infelicity, to find this only paragraph so very obscure, that I am utterly at a loss to guess at its meaning. What the uninformed reader will be led to conclude from it is obvious enough. But, after a careful perusal, I confess that I cannot determine what it is, which the writer wishes to affirm, or to deny.

Without attempting therefore to penetrate into the meaning of a sentence guarded within such well-chosen terms of ambiguity, I shall give a plain narration of facts, which fell within my own knowledge, and which, therefore, I think it a debt, due from me to Mr. Grenville's memory, to relate.

In the beginning of March, 1764, a number of resolutions, relative to the Plantation Trade, were proposed by Mr. Grenville, and passed in the House of Commons.

The fifteenth of these was : “ That, towards the further defraying the said expences, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations.”

The other resolutions were formed into the Plantation Act : but the fifteenth was put off till the next session : Mr. Grenville declaring, that he was willing to give time

to the Colonies to consider of it, and to make their option of raising that, or some other tax. The agents waited separately on Grenville upon this matter, and wrote to their several colonies. At the end of the sessions we went to him, all of us together, to know if he still intended to bring in such a bill. He answered, he did. And then repeated to us in form, what I had before heard him say private, and in the House of Commons : “ That the late war had found us seventy millions, and left us more than one hundred and forty millions in debt. He knew that all men wished not to be taxed ; but that in these unhappy circumstances, it was his duty, as a steward for the publick, to make use of every just means of improving the publick revenue : that he never meant, however, to charge the Colonies with any part of the interest of the national debt. But, besides that publick debt, the nation had incurred a great annual expence in the maintaining of the several new conquests, which we had made during the war, and by which the Colonies were so much benefited. That the American civil and military establishment, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was only £.70,000 *per ann.* It was now increased to £.350,000. This was a great additional expence incurred upon an American account : And he thought, therefore, that America ought to contribute towards it. He did not expect that the Colonies should raise the whole ; but some part of it he thought they ought to raise. And this Stamp Duty was intended for that purpose.

“ That he judged this method of raising the money the easiest and most equitable ; that it was a tax which would fall only upon property ; would be collected by the fewest officers ; and would be equally spread over America and the West-Indies ; so that all would bear their share of the publick burthen.”

He then went on : “ I am not, however, set upon this tax : If the Americans dislike it, and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content. Write therefore to your several Colonies ; and if they choose any other mode, I shall be satisfied, provided the money be but raised.”

Upon reading over this narration with Mr. Montagu, who

who was then agent for Virginia, and present at this conference with Mr. Grenville, I have his authority to say, that he entirely assents to every particular.

All these particulars I had before heard from Mr. Grenville, in the House of Commons, and at his own house; and had wrote to the Massachusetts' Assembly accordingly.

The following extracts contain their answer on this head.

" Boston, June 14, 1764.

" SIR,

" The House of Representatives have received your
" several letters, &c. * * * * *

" The actual laying the Stamp Duty, you say, is deferred till next year, Mr. Grenville being willing to give
" the provinces their option to raise that, or some equivalent tax; desirous, as he was pleased to express himself,
" to consult the ease and quiet, and the good will of the
" Colonies."

" If the ease, the quiet, and the good will of the Colonies are of any importance to Great-Britain, no measures could be hit upon, that have a more natural and direct tendency to enervate those principles, than the resolutions you inclosed.

" The kind offer of suspending the Stamp Duty in the manner, and upon the condition, you mention, amounts
" to no more than this, that if the Colonies will not tax themselves, as they may be directed, the Parliament will
" tax them.

" You are to remonstrate against these measures, and, if possible, to obtain a repeal of the Sugar Act, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on
" the colonies. Measures will be taken that you may be
" joined by all the other agents."

One of these measures was the printing this letter, and sending it to the other colony assemblies.

After their own express acknowledgment, therefore, no one, I suppose, will doubt but that they had the offer of raising the money themselves; and that they refused it. Which is all that I am concerned to prove.

A Note in Manuscript.

IF any man wish to know what a very honest enthusiast, from his own visionary ideas of the perfection of civil liberty, may fancy that the constitution of the colonies ought to be, let him read Dr. Price.

If he think it of more importance to know what the constitution of the colonies really is, this history will clearly prove to him, from the evidence of facts.

The constitution of the colonies did not wait for Dr. Price's fancies, but existed a hundred years before he was born ; having been already formed by their charters ; by the conditions upon which they made their settlements ; under which they have been considered as parts of the British empire ; and under which they have enjoyed the protection and the privileges of British subjects : (to say nothing of the constant usage of the crown, and then of the parliament, to tax them).

The constitution of our government, like that of the human body, is a system that is already formed ; and not a new thing, now to be fancied. And we may apply to it what Boerhaave used to say to us in confutation of fancied theories, *Corpus humanum fit, non fingitur.*

Extract from the History of the New-England Colonies, concerning the Charter of William and Mary.

IF we look into the history of the passing of this Charter, every part of it shews, that nothing could be farther from the thoughts of the King and Council, than the granting of any such exemption. And the account of these transactions will fully illustrate every thing which has been said, both of the former charter and of this.

Upon the accession of king William, the people at Boston seized upon their Governour, and called a convention. This Assembly added two more agents to the two, which were before in England, and sent them over with instructions " to solicit the confirmation of their antient Charter, and all its rights and privileges ; and, if there
" should

“ should be opportunity, to endeavour the obtaining such
“ farther privileges, as might be of benefit to the Colony.”

The House of Commons had resolved, that the seising of the Charters of the Corporations and Colonies in king Charles's time was illegal : And a bill had been brought in for the renewal of them, though it did not pass. The agents therefore hoped, that they might be allowed to re-assume their Charter. The colony of Connecticut, having never stood a trial, but only passively submitted, in the year 1684, and having had no judgment entered against their Charter, nor any surrendry thereof upon record, actually did re-assume theirs. But the case of Massachusetts was different, they having stood trial, and having had judgment entered against them. The same great lawyers, therefore, Ward, Somers, and Treby, who found that Connecticut might resume their former Charter, determined that Massachusetts could not.

The King resolved therefore to grant them a new charter ; and to reserve to himself the naming of a Governour and some other officers ; and directed the Attorney and Solicitor General to draw one. The first draught was thought too loose, and was rejected. A second being drawn more agreeably to the King's instructions, was shewn to the Agents, with a liberty given them to offer any objections. But upon Mr. Mather's saying that he would sooner part with his life than consent to it, they were told that the consent of the Agents was not desired : That the Agents from New-England were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign state : And that, if they declared they would not submit to the King's pleasure, his Majesty would settle the country, and they might take what would follow.

Two of the Agents still insisted on their old Charter, to which the province at that time was strongly attached, though with very little reason. For the state of their case having been referred to council, the opinion given upon it was as follows :

“ That a bare restitution of the Charters, and especially
“ of the Massachusetts, would be of no service at all ; as
“ appears both from the Charter itself and from the prac-
“ tice of that Colony, who have hardly pursued the terms
“ thereof

“ thereof in any one instance. As to the Charter itself,
 “ that colony, if they should have it, would want,

I. “ A power to call a select assembly ; for there many
 “ thousand freemen have an equal right to sit in the as-
 “ sembly.

II. “ A power to lay taxes and raise money, especially
 “ on inhabitants not freemen, and strangers coming to
 “ trade there.

III. “ They have no admiralty.

IV. “ They have no power to keep a prerogative court,
 “ to prove wills, &c.

V. “ Nor to erect courts of judicature, especially
 “ chancery courts.”

The reader easily sees, that the Charter having been originally given to a company resident in England, all these things were then provided for here in the king's Courts.

The other two agents, Mr. Mather and Sir William Ashurst, drew up their objections against the minutes ; which were presented to the Attorney-General and laid before the Council ; and a copy sent to the King in Flanders : who disapproved of the objections, and ordered the Charter to be drawn up according to the minutes. It was still urged on the part of the province, that they thought it would be a singularly hard case, that the effects of the late tyranny should be felt by them alone, of all their Majesty's subjects : all the other charters having by one means or other been restored. But to this it was answered, that there was this difference between the case of the Massachusetts, and most of the other charters. In general, there was no room for legal exception to the powers exercised by the corporations ; but the Massachusetts Charter not being intended when it was granted for such government, as is necessary to be exercised in a colony remote from its mother country, a reversion of the former judgment would have been of no service : * And Sir George Treby declared to Mr. Mather, Sir John Somers, and the two Lords Chief Justices being present, and assenting to it, that “ if
 “ the judgment against the Charter should be revers-
 “ ed, and the government should exercise those powers,
 “ which,

* Hutchinsohn, page 414.

“ which, before the *quo warranto*, they had done, a new writ would issue out against them in Westminster-hall, and there would be a judgment against them, and such an one as there would be no room for a writ of error.”

By the old Charter, it was said, they had power to imprison or inflict punishment in criminal cases, according to the course of corporations in England, but that, unless capital cases be expressly mentioned, the power would not reach them. That no power was given to erect judicatories, or courts for probate of wills; or with admiralty jurisdiction; nor had they any power to constitute a house of deputies or representatives, nor to impose taxes on the inhabitants; nor to incorporate towns, colleges, schools, &c. which powers and privileges had been notwithstanding usurped.

SEVERAL REASONS PROVING THAT INOCULATING OR TRANSPLANTING THE SMALL POX, IS A LAWFUL PRACTICE, AND THAT IT HAS BEEN BLESSED BY GOD FOR THE SAVING OF MANY A LIFE.* BY INCREASE MATHER, D. D.

Exod. xx. 13. *Thou shalt not kill.*—Gal. i. 10. *Do I seek to please men? if I please men, I should not be a servant of Christ.*

IT has been questioned, Whether inoculating the Small Pox be a lawful practice? I incline to the affirmative, for these reasons. I. Because I have read, that in Smyrna, Constantinople, and other places, thousands of lives have been saved by inoculation, and not one of thousands has miscarried by it. This is related by wise and learned men who would not have imposed on the world a false narrative. Which also has been published by the Royal Society; therefore a great regard is due to it.

II. We hear that several physicians have recommended the practice hereof to his Majesty, as a means to preserve the lives of his subjects, and that his wise and excellent Majesty

* When this was written, only one physician, two or three magistrates, and the clergy of Boston durst step forth in defence of Inoculation. The success established the reputation of those who favoured it.

Majesty King George, as also his Royal Highness the Prince have approved hereof, and that it is now coming into practice in the nation. In one of the publick prints are these words, *Inoculating the Small Pox is a safe and universally useful experiment*. Several worthy persons lately arrived from England inform us, that it is a successful practice there : If wise and learned men in England declare their approbation of this practice, for us to declare our disapprobation will not be for our honour.

III. God has graciously owned the practice of inoculation, among us in Boston, where some scores, yea above an hundred have been inoculated, and not one miscarried ; but they bless God, for his discovering this experiment to them. It has been objected, that one that was inoculated, died, viz. Mrs. D——ll : but she had the small pox, in the common way before, and her friends and nearest relations declare that she received no hurt by inoculation, but was by a fright put into fits that caused her death. It is then a wonderful providence of God, that all that were inoculated should have their lives preserved ; so that the safety and usefulness of this experiment is confirmed to us by ocular demonstration : I confess I am afraid, that the discouraging of this practice may cause many a life to be lost, which, for my own part, I should be loth to have any hand in, because of the sixth commandment.

IV. It cannot be denied but that some wise and judicious persons among us, approve of inoculation, both magistrates and ministers ; among ministers I am one, who have been a poor preacher of the gospel in Boston above threescore years, and am the most aged, weak and unworthy minister now in New-England. My sentiments, and my son's also, about this matter are well known. Also we hear that the reverend and learned Mr. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton concurs with us ; so doth the reverend Mr. Wise of Ipswich, and many other younger divines, not only in Boston, but in the country, join with their fathers. Furthermore, I have made some enquiry, whether there are many persons of a prophane life and conversation, that do approve and defend inoculation, and I have been answered, that they know but of very few such. This is to me a weighty consideration. But on the other hand,

though

though there are some worthy persons, that are not clear about it ; nevertheless, it cannot be denied, but that the known children of the wicked one, are generally fierce enemies to inoculation. It is a grave saying of old Seneca, *Pessimi argumentum turba est*. For my part I should be ashamed to joyn with such persons ; *O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly be not thou united*. I am far from reflecting upon all that are against inoculation. I know there are very worthy persons (with whom I desire to live and die) that are not clear in their judgments for it, and they are greatly to be commended and honoured in that they will not act against a doubting conscience ; yet it may be some of them might change their minds, if they would advise with those who are best able to afford them scripture light in this as well as in other cases of conscience.

November 20. 1721.

That the cause may have two witnesses, here are subjoyned the sentiments of another, well known in our churches, of which I declare my hearty approbation.

SENTIMENTS ON THE SMALL POX INOCULATED.

A MOST successful, and allowable method of preventing death, and many other grievous miseries by the small pox, is not only *lawful* but a *duty*, to be used by those who apprehend their lives immediately endanger'd by the terrible distemper,

But the method of managing and governing the small pox in the way of inoculation, is a most successful and allowable method of preventing death, and many other grievous miseries by this dreadful distemper. Therefore, 'tis not only lawful, but also a duty to make use of it. None but very foolish, and very wicked people will deny the proposition in this argument ; the assumption is all that is disputed. But now, that this is a most successful method we have all the evidence that humane reason can ask for it.

Men of honour, and learning, and incontestible veracity, not one or two, but a considerable number of them, agree in the relation they give us, of it's being used with constant

stant success in the Levant. It has been used upon vast multitudes, even many thousands, and for some scores of years : And when regularly used, it yet appears not, that ever one person miscarried of it, or had the small pox after it. We have sufficient proofs that it is a growing practice in those countries. If it had been unsuccessful, or been attended with bad consequences, it must needs have been put out of countenance, and have ceased long ago. Such testimonies on the other side, as our people have been frightened withal, are not worth a straw. No man of sense that considers them can lay weight upon them : Ask us not, why we say so !

And we have an army of Africans among ourselves, who have themselves been under it, and given us all the assurance, which a rational mind can desire, that it has long been used with the like success in Africa. Yea, *Behold, ye yourselves have seen it.* The operation has been performed on an hundred and more, in the town of Boston : And not one of them has miscarried : They have every one of them hitherto done well. They all give thanks to our merciful Redeemer for leading them into it. They would every one of them rather undergo it again, and many times over, than suffer the small pox as people ordinarily suffer it in the common way of infection. The story of one dying after it, is trump'd up with so much folly and falsehood, that it is unworthy to have any answer given to it. In fine ; experience has declared, that there never was a more unfailing remedy employed among the children of men.

That this is an allowable method, is plain ; because there can be no objection brought against it, but what will also lie against the use of all the preventing physick that is used in the world. The objector must maintain, that it is unlawful for a man, who would preserve his life and health, to make himself sick in a way that constantly tends to preservation. But a very familiar case will so illustrate the matter, as to put it beyond all dispute. Suppose, there is a bloody flux prevailing in the town where I live, which proves mortal to a great part of them that have it ; many more than four hundred perish by it in a month. A physician is master of a purge, which, whosoever takes it, is, in an ordinary way, delivered from the danger of that mortal distemper. An
artificial

artificial purge seasonably taken saves him from death by the natural purge, which he is exposed unto. Will any scruple the taking of this artificial purge? Surely, none but such as want a purge of hellebore! Here the man makes himself sick, while he is well: and thinks that he is not *the whole who has no need of a physician*, while he has the humours in him which render him obnoxious to a deadly sickness. He won't think it his duty to stay till God send the sickness in another way upon him; when it will be too late for him to seek relief; but he will give thanks to God for teaching him, how to make himself sick, in a way that will save his life. He most properly takes God's time to fall sick: He does it seasonably, and in the time when God has commanded him to do it.

Many good people, who are sensible how weak their own judgments are, will for a case of conscience be much assisted by the judgments of the most able divines in the country. Now every body knows how they concur in their approbation of this practice.

The design and the spirit, (evidently of no good original) with which the fierce opposition to this practice is carried on, will also go a great way towards determining of good people in favour of it. The conclusion will be victorious; that when people have their lives endangered by the small pox hovering about them, they not only *may* use the method of inoculation, to save their lives, but they even *ought to do it*, if they can. They keep not in good terms with the sixth commandment, if they do it not.

Inferences.

I. Hence the physicians may do well to beware, of going too far, and of taking wrong steps, for the frightening of people from this practice, lest they unawares have more to answer for than men of their profession should be willing to.

II. Hence, the parents, and masters, and husbands and wives, whose relatives have beg'd as for their lives, that they might have leave to save their lives, by this method, should not by their obstinate violence hinder them from it, least on the loss of their lives they have sad matter of reflection left unto them.

III. Hence,

III. Hence, a people will do well, not to be too hasty in resolves, that should forbid their neighbours, to do what God has made their duty for the preservation of their lives in this method; lest they do in effect forbid obedience to the sixth commandment. Especially, when the bugbear of the pestilential consequences, is a falsehood, that has not the least shadow of reason for it, and has the experience of all the countries under heaven, where they use the inoculation, to confute it. Nor has it ever been known of later ages, that the plague ever began any where but in the East-Indies, from whence it has always been brought unto the western world. And when the King, and Prince, and most eminent physicians in London and Dublin, and elsewhere, have declared their approbation of it; it seems not much for our honour, to declare that we disapprove it.

IV. Hence to rave, and rail with such bitter execrations, as are too commonly used, against the ministers, and other serious christians, who favour this practice, is a very crying iniquity; and to call it a *work of the devil*, and a *going to the devil*, is a shocking blasphemy; and much more likely to bring the plague among us, than the practice, which they so ignorantly and maliciously do charge with such imaginary consequences.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAUGHT OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY A LONDON MERCHANT TO HIS FRIEND IN VIRGINIA.

London, 9 Jan. 1775.

NO address or signature is requisite to this, as it is purely political, and you know the writer. Your eulogium for wisdom, ability, and amiable publick principles, are resounded here from every part of America, since your shining in Congress. This you may be sure is most grateful to me, who love you so much and have an Hampdean ardour for liberty.

The publick papers will inform you of the proceedings of the London merchants and traders, which it is supposed will be followed by Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, &c. as the leading men in those towns had before wrote, painting in strong terms the distress

treasures of commerce and the poor manufacturers on the very slight beginning of stopping your importations ; from this you may easily guess what will be the case when your exports are stopped. The ministers being totally confounded at the unanimity of America, are at a stand ; this, together with the clamours from Liverpool, &c. has occasioned the proceedings in London ; but do not from thence conclude that any thing effectual will be done this session of Parliament. The K——, your inveterate enemy, has ordered the ministers to persevere in the old plan, which from principle, they wish to do, if they find it practicable ; but this they will not find in twelve months time, if America perseveres in the plan adopted by the Congress. You may rely on it that I have the very best authority for assuring you, that there is no disposition in the cabinet to give America any redress ; but, on the contrary, it is absolutely determined by the *secret ruling power* to distress you as much as possible. There is one comfort ; this ruler is the veriest coward that human nature can know, and when the spirit appears, that must show itself in the House of Commons when the several petitions are delivered, fear will take place, and may produce a repeal of some of the last Massachusetts acts ; this is the utmost that can be expected this session, which for a time may quiet people here in expectation of the Congress in May receding from your association. But should the May Congress continue firmly united as that in September was, and persevere in the plan of stopping your imports and exports, till *all* your grievances are redressed, by the next session of Parliament one half of the kingdom for want of bread will be at Westminster to fight your battles, in which every West-Indian must join or starve.

The advice I am going to give, you must allow, will be more particularly injurious to myself than to almost any man in North-America ; but my ardent love of liberty will ever prevail over selfish considerations. Should your grievances, as stated in the association, be not *fully* redressed before the meeting of Congress in May, (of which there is not the least glimmering of hope at present) by all means confirm your non-importation and non-exportation,

tation, and adopt such farther measures as by that time you will find necessary. In the mean while, to make the measure as little injurious as possible to America, employ every nerve to prepare within yourselves necessary cloathing and implements for manufactures of the useful kind, instead of raising raw materials to purchase the manufactures of this country. No effort should be left untried to get a sufficiency of arms and ammunition, for it is more than probable that you may have occasion for them; therefore it is absolutely necessary, through all America, to pay great attention to training the militia. Thus acting, and thus provided, I will pawn my life on every thing being properly settled next winter.

The plan of despotism is too deeply settled to give up the contest without full redress; especially as America is infinitely better able to contend now, than she will be ten or twenty years hence, if the Quebec bill remains. Had your exports as well as imports stopped last December, your grievances must have been completely settled this winter: as it is, by your own determinations, the business is spun out so long, I hope you have firmness to persevere, and will by every possible means provide against the last extremity. You must not rely on any man or body of men here, therefore you yourselves must work out your own salvation, which you are fully able to do if you have but virtue enough; and if you have not

This country is, in comparison of what it was, weak to an extreme with profligacy, debauchery and luxury. The highest and lowest orders of men are as abandoned to every vice, as the Romans were in the age of the Cæsars. In the middling class there is yet a great deal of true sterling independency; among them your friends were always numerous, and among the others, necessity will very soon make you many more. Lords Temple, Chatham (who are now perfectly united) Camden, Shelburne, and the amiable bishop of St. Asaph, are the only real friends you have among the great. I speak of the two first from my own personal knowledge, and of the others from report, their publick conduct, and writings. The Rockinghams, with Burke, their political pilot, still obstinately persevere in the right of parliament to tax America, and therefore cannot

cannot be your friends ; places, &c. being their object. They will nevertheless support you against the present ministry, to distress and overturn them if they can. The proceedings of Congress are universally admired, and the compositions compared to those of the patriots in the reign of Charles 1st. I have mentioned my own private capital objection, respecting your delay of non-exportation, by which I understand remittances of every kind ; and I beg leave to caution against any strictures on the Roman Catholic religion, as it will be much more advantageous for you to conciliate to you the Canadians, than to exasperate or rouse the people here ; let us alone to do that. When your assembly meets, surely your governour will be severely reprehended for not immediately issuing writs on the last dissolution ; for the iniquitous Indian war he has so wickedly kindled, which has already cost the lives of so many brave Virginians, and will cost so much money, if you are simple enough to pay for his madness ; and for his contemptuous treatment in not meeting the assembly, &c. These are grounds amply sufficient for a strong remonstrance to the throne, for his removal. I have just received your letter of September 20, from Philadelphia, through the London post-office, which is the only one since that from Rousby Hall. This convinces me several of your letters must have miscarried. So very few of the merchants here are in the least friendly to you, that it seems to me an essential political principle for every independent American to put his business only into the hands of such men whom they are certain, in times like these, will boldly stand forth and openly support your rights whenever they may be injured. 'Tis very hard indeed if every colony cannot find honest and trusty natives sufficient to send here that can do their business.

LITERARY NOTICE.



A MEMBER of the Massachusetts Historical Society has it in contemplation to publish a work, to be entitled,

AMERICAN ANNALS.

It will commence with the discovery of America, by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, and extend to the present time; and is designed to give a concise history of the most important events, that have taken place, within that period, on the continent of North and South America, and in the West India islands; and of such events, in foreign parts, as had special relation to this country, or ultimately affected its interests. Beginning with the causes, means, and circumstances, of the first discovery of America, it will proceed to notice its subsequent settlement by the various nations of Europe; the principal charters, granted by European princes to individuals, or to companies; the principal emigrations from the Eastern Continent to the Western; the causes of those emigrations; the numbers of the emigrants; the places to which they removed; the towns which they built; the colonies which they planted; the churches which they founded; and the principal persons concerned in the several enterprises for the settlement of America, whether navigators, adventurers, statesmen, divines, or warriors, with biographical sketches: the most material facts in the progress of the American settlements; the population of the natives, and of the colonists, at different periods; the formation of new colonies or states; the foundation of colleges and other seminaries of learning; the establishment of societies for promoting useful knowledge; the progress of arts and sciences; the progress of commerce; new inventions, or useful improvements; military and naval strength; civil wars, or insurrections; wars with the Indians; memorable battles; the principal events of the late revolutionary war; changes in the civil and ecclesiastical state; deaths and ages of eminent men; and providential occurrences.

It is the design of the author, to relate events in the order of time, on the plan of chronology, and yet to dilate on articles of peculiar importance, after the manner of history. The authorities will be given with precision; and the work will probably consist of two octavo volumes.











